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VOL. 12 SEPTEMBER, 1947 No. 3

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Rural Rehabilitation—Theory and Practice *

By Olaf F. Larson†

ABSTRACT

Rural rehabilitation, as experienced and demonstrated in the United States since 1934, is an instrument designed to improve the welfare of lower income farm people.

The present paper is limited to a consideration of the standard rural rehabiltation loan program and its forerunners. The standard program was carried on by the Resettlement Administration from July, 1935 to September, 1937 and by the Farm Security Administration from 1937 until the recent organization of the Farmers' Home Administration. It originated in activities carried on prior to July, 1935 by the Federal and State Emergency Relief Administrations, usually through the state rural rehabilitation corporations. State rural rehabilitation corporations were established in 45 states, the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico; although those in Maryland, Massachusetts, the District of Columbia, and Hawaii never functioned.

RESUMEN

La rehabilitación rural según se ha experimentado y demostrado en los Estados Unidos desde 1934 es un instrumento diseñado para aumentar el bienestar de los campesinos de bajo nivel económico.

El presente informe se limita a la consideración del programa de préstamos de rehabilitación rural y sus antecesores. El programa normal se llevó a cabo por la *Resettlement Administration* de julio, 1935 a septiembre, 1937 y por la *Farm Security Administration* de 1937 hasta la reciente organización de *Farmers' Home Administration.* Se originó en actividades llevadas a cabo antes de julio 1935 por la *Federal and State Emergency Relief Administrations,* por lo común por medio de corporaciones de rehabilitación rural del estado. Estas corporaciones se establecieron en 45 estados, el Districto de Colombia, Alaska, Hawaii, y Puerto Rico; aunque las de Maryland, Massachusetts, el Districto de Colombia, y Hawaii nunca funcionaron.

Introduction

Standard RR loan program characteristics.—The chief characteristics of the standard loan program include 1) *credit* for normal farm and home operating expenses to farm families unable to obtain satisfactory financing from any other private or federal source, 2) *supervision,* or advisory assistance, which includes help in making farm and home plans and "on the farm" teaching of improved farm and home practices, 3) rehabilitation *in place,* that is without resettlement. Financial aid is of a "high risk" type from a banking point of view, for the purpose of advancing social welfare objectives. The supervision ideally performs an educational function designed to improve the status of the supervised and to develop his skills and abilities for his own welfare. To some, the word "su-

* Prepared for meeting of the Rural Sociological Society at Chicago, Illinois, December 30, 1946.

† While the author is now on the staff at Cornell University, the material for this paper was obtained from a study made while on the staff of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

pervision" carries an undesirable connotation.[1]

While other techniques have been adapted or developed to aid family rehabilitation, it is the *combination* of credit and supervision which is the unique feature which has resulted in the standard loan program's being called a "social invention of high significance."[2]

Relation to other rehabilitation measures.—As measured by number of families reached, amount of money involved, geographic coverage or duration of program contacts with families, the standard loan program is the most significant of the publicly sponsored rural rehabilitation activities.[3]

While more spectacular, the subsistence homesteads and various resettlement-type rehabilitation projects have in practice been a relatively minor activity reaching perhaps fewer than 20,000 families in about 200 projects.[4] Non-standard loans (maximum size $300 and without an approved farm and home plan) were made for emergency purposes to 340,000 borrowers during the period July 1935—June 1944, but accounted for only 32 per cent of the total number of rehabilitation loans to individuals and a much smaller proportion of the loan funds.[5] Grant-only cases, numbering about 623,000 through June 1944, were to needy families customarily dependent upon agriculture who received aid which in non-farm areas was called direct relief.[6] Little rehabilitation was involved in the assistance to grant-only cases nor in the migratory labor camps.

The relationship of the standard loan program to these other activities under the same administering agency is suggested by the following: typically all of the several activities of the agency have been conducted by one set of officials at the county level,

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[1] John D. Black in "Agricultural Credit Policy in the United States, 1945", *Journal of Farm Economics,* (August 1945), 591-614, makes a case for using the term "servicing."

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] This is not to imply that such measures as feed and seed loans, credit extended through FCA, or the AAA benefit payments did not have important effects which made them substitutes for direct rehabilitation aid in many cases.

[4] For analyses of these projects see Russell Lord and Paul H. Johnstone, editors, *A Place on Earth,* (Washington, D. C.: BAE, USDA, 1942); Joseph W. Eaton, *Exploring Tomorrow's Agriculture,* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943); *Hearings Before the Select Committee on Agriculture,* to *Investigate the Activities of the Farm Security Administration,* House of Representatives, Seventy-eighth Congress, First Session, Pursuant to H. Res. 119, (Washington, D. C. Part III, 1944). In the latter report FSA indicated about 15,000 families had been aided on all rural and subsistence homesteads projects (p. 1030), whereas Eaton states provision had been made through June, 1941 for settlement of 35,415 families on full-time farms by FSA and predecessors (p. 36).

[5] For example, two-fifths of the non-standard loan borrowers whose loans came from other than corporation trust funds accounted for but 2.5 per cent of the amount of loans to individuals from these other funds. These other funds accounted for 787 million dollars of loans to individuals as compared with 73 million from corporation trust funds during the 1935-1944 period.

[6] The only special study of grant cases known to the writer is that of Clair A. Bondurant, *A Study of One Hundred Farm Security Administration Grant Families in Ellis County, Kansas, 1939,* Sociology Series No. 1, (Fort Hays Kansas State College Studies, 1941).

except for resettlement projects and migratory labor camps; a tenant purchase (farm ownership) borrower or resettlement project occupant could receive a standard loan but would not be classified as a standard loan borrower; prior to restrictions in the amount and use of grant funds, a standard loan borrower could receive a grant; upon receiving a standard loan, an emergency (non-standard) loan borrower became a standard borrower.

Basis for this paper—The present paper is in effect a highly condensed abstract of parts of a report on a rather comprehensive study made by the writer with the help of a number of associates while on the staff of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.[7] The major purposes of this BAE report were (1) to trace the development of program policies and of rehabilitation tools and techniques associated with the standard rural rehabilitation loan program, (2) to draw some generalizations with respect to the rehabilitation process and the use of rehabilitation tools and techniques and (3) to attempt to set forth some of the major issues involved in rural rehabilitation from the standpoint of public policy.[8]

Analysis was necessarily limited to the over-all national picture, with some attention to broad area differences as represented by administrative regions although it is recognized that there have been many variations among the regions, among states within regions, and among districts and counties within states.[9]

While no uniform out-off date was possible for the statistical data and most of the statistics carry into 1943 or 1944, the major emphasis of description and analysis was upon the pre-war program. However, wartime changes were indicated briefly.

Quantitative data included (1) a special survey made by BAE, with the help of WPA funds, of 39,295 standard borrowers who entered the program during the period March 1936—February 1939 and who were distributed among the 12 continental FSA regions,[10] (2) the annual family progress reports of standard borrowers for the years 1937-1943, (3) periodic and special reports obtained for administrative use by the administering agency, and (4) special compilations made by FSA personnel in accordance with BAE requests. Administrative procedural documents, congressional hearings, and interviews and field observations at all administrative levels since 1934 have

[7] Paul J. Jehlik, Ralph R. Botts, Elcho L. Greenshields, Donald C. Horton, Giles Hubert, T. Wilson Longmore, Orlin J. Scoville, and Rachel Rowe Swiger prepared or assisted in the preparation of certain sections of the report circulated for review purposes under the title, *Ten Years of Rural Rehabilitation in the United States*, and now submitted for publication by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

[8] Because this program offers many suggestions for measures of rural reconstruction in other countries, administrative procedures and some of the techniques were treated in some detail.

[9] Most of the data are available on a state basis, and some on a county basis, although only regional and national figures were included in the report.

[10] The methodology for this survey is included as Appendix B of the complete report.

been used to supplement and interpret the statistics. The findings of more localized studies by the state agricultural experiment stations and BAE were also freely drawn upon in the attempt to summarize existing research in this field.[11] The limitations of these data are brought out in a later section.

Program Development and Scope: The People Concerned

Origin and development—The rural rehabilitation program began in a relief setting as an emergency public assistance measure in a crisis period, an origin which later caused certain difficulties—the times called for speed, for "doing something." Although feed and seed loans, first made in 1918, had some of the "high risk" characteristics of rehabilitation loans and had certain relief effects, and although localized groups of farmers in the past had occasionally sought and received public relief in times of catastrophe from such causes as drought and grasshoppers,[12] the new program marked the first official federal recognition of the special problems of lower income and needy farmers.

The severity of the economic depression and the inability of local units of government and private sources to meet relief needs in the traditional ways led the federal government to break with precedent and accept aid to the unemployed as its function. However, the first measures following passage of the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 generally made no differentiation between needy farmers and unemployed workers. But from the beginning, calls from farmers for help from FERA indicated a need for a distinct type of program.

Groundwork was broken by the trial efforts in the emergency relief programs of a few states in 1933 to make loans of tools and workstock to needy farmers in place of direct or work relief. When the rehabilitation program was started nationally under FERA in April, 1934 some 600,000 farm families were estimated to be receiving relief. Another 600,000 families receiving relief lived in rural areas. Under FERA, there was no standard loan program as such. In fact, the bulk of the activity would later have been classified as emergency loans or grants but the basic elements — loans plus supervision — were established. Before the FERA rehabilitation program gave way to the Resettlement Administration some 397,000 cases were made "loans" totaling 49 million dollars.

This early experience led the Resettlement Administration to differentiate several categories of aid, one of which was the standard loan. At this stage, standard loan activities were considered as temporary and as being, in the long run, definitely subordinate to land purchase and reset-

[11] Many of these studies are listed in *Rehabilitation of Low-Income Farmers*, compiled by John M. McNeill, Library List No. 6, U. S. Department of Agriculture Library, (Washington, August, 1943).

[12] For one example see Robert G. Dunbar, "Agricultural Adjustments in Eastern Colorado in the Eighteen-nineties," *Agricultural History*, XVIII (January, 1944), 41-52.

tlement. By the time Resettlement was succeeded by the Farm Security Administration, the standard program was established as the major activity. By this time it was beginning to be seen as not only a means of meeting emergency types of distress among farmers but as an instrument for attacking deep-rooted problems of rural poverty which were being recognized.

Program scope and coverage—Some 695,000 families were classified as standard loan borrowers between July 1, 1935 and September 30, 1943. This excludes farm ownership borrowers and project occupants who may have also had standard loans. By the end of 1945 the number had risen to nearly 770,000—equivalent to one out of every 8 farm operators reported by the U. S. Census. The proportion would be considerably larger if from the census figures were deducted those operators for whom farming is not the main source of livelihood. These borrower families were dispersed throughout all but a dozen counties of the nation. Counties with the largest proportions of their farmers with such loans tend to be concentrated in the Mountain and Great Plains states. However, nearly three-fifths of the total number were in the 14 states comprising what are usually termed the "four Southern Regions" —IV, V, VI, and VIII. Several counties, mostly in the cotton-plantation areas, each had more than 1,000 borrowers. These figures do not include any of the cases made loans under FERA who were classified as "non-standard" or "grant only" cases after transfer to the Resettlement Administration or who were not transferred.

Between July 1935 and June 1944 a total of 787 million dollars from appropriated and borrowed funds was obligated as standard loans to individuals. (Some of this money was for standard loans to farm ownership borrowers and project occupants). Direct loans to associations, some or all of whose members were standard borrowers, totaled 22 million during the same period. Loans to individuals from what are known as "corporation trust funds" totaled 73 million during the same period, some of which was for standard loans to standard borrowers.

A comparison of the number of borrowers with several estimates of the number of farm families potentially eligible for loans makes it clear that by no means all eligible farm families have been reached.[12]

Selection policies — Eligibility requirements for a standard loan have changed from time to time. At first being on or eligible for relief was a major prerequisite. Later the upper limit was set by the inability to obtain credit at reasonable rates or terms from other sources. The lower

[12] A BAE estimate based in part upon data from the 1940 U. S. Census of Agriculture would indicate 42 per cent of the potentially eligible had been reached through September, 1943. See Paul J. Jehlik and Olaf F. Larson, *Obstacles to Increased War-Food Production by Low-Income Farmers*, FSA, Release No. 3, 1942 Family Progress Report, (June 7, 1943). Estimates by county supervisors indicate a higher percentage of coverage.

limit has been quite subjective. Control of some land resources as an operator has been one of the qualifications, thus automatically barring from the program anyone who could not secure the use of a piece of land. In general, the loans have been reserved for those whose usual occupation has been that of farm operator, including those recently displaced, and for sons of farmers wanting to start out for themselves. The program has not been used to encourage unemployed industrial workers to enter agriculture. Emphasis has been on assisting full-time farmers, although some allowance has been made for off-farm work which doesn't interfere with farming operations.

Under FERA there were some wholesale transfers of agricultural families from the relief rolls without much regard for capacity to become self-supporting as farm operators in line with rehabilitation objectives. As a rule, however, the presence of an able-bodied man, evidence of industry, and capacity to profit from supervision and financial aid have been among the primary requirements. Very few loans have been made where there was but one person in the household, farming being a family enterprise. To some degree loans have been made or denied as an instrument of policy, for example, to promote better land-use; at one time to encourage population movement out of agriculture, and to secure maximum national production and most efficient use of the nation's manpower in wartime; at another time to discourage migration.

Borrower characteristics and trends—Borrowers accepted under the FERA rehabilitation program had the lowest socio-economic status, the least amount of physical and financial resources, and were the most disadvantaged of those accepted at any time. An upward trend in selection of borrowers was definitely under way by the time the Farm Security Administration was started and except for a down-swing in 1939, resulting from administrative pressure to "dig deeper," continued into the war years. This trend derived from the fact that there were more applicants than money, larger case-loads than supervisors could handle adequately, pressure to make a good collection record, and generally unfavorable loan experience with the very low-income group. These forces resulted in tending to select applicants with the best prospects for repayment and requiring the least supervisory effort. Wartime objectives of maximum food production and labor utilization accentuated this trend. This upward trend in selection meant the floor, rather than the ceiling, was raised in practice.

Significant comparison of standard borrowers with all farmers is handicapped by the fact that the data for all farmers reported by the U. S. Census includes those who because of age, health or occupation are essentially rural "residents" rather than active farm operators. Compared with all farmers, however, borrowers at the

time of acceptance were less likely to own the farm operated. If they owned, they were likely to have a poorer farm. If he had been an operator the borrower had about the same size of farm, on the average, although not likely as fertile nor well-equipped. Borrowers were younger, had a larger family, and were more likely to have an unbroken family. Probabilities are that borrowers were more likely to have received some form of relief aid during the thirties, to have a lower level of living, smaller income, and to do some work off the farm. The average *active* standard borrower in 1943 had a net income from all sources which would place him just below the midpoint in the distribution for all farmers. Comparison with just those for whom farming was the major enterprise, rather than with all farmers, would place the rehabilitation group in a lower relative position on the income scale.

While there has been a wide range of characteristics and resources on the part of borrowers coming on the program within each region, there are central tendencies which set individual regions and groups of regions apart. What may be termed the regional "profile of poverty" shows that the average borrower accepted in some areas would have to make tremendous progress to be as well off as were the borrowers in other areas even before they received rehabilitation assistance. Poverty is relative to the standards of an area.

A complex of problems, rather than a single problem, is characteristic of the situation of the typical rehabilitation family. These major problems include physical resources to produce income and protect health, skills and abilities to use resources, institutional arrangements, personal traits, social relationships, and credit. For many families, the status and the duration of poverty was such that the term "rehabilitate" was not appropriate. They were being helped to a position they had never lost because they had never held it.

The Standard Loan Program as an Instrument of Social Change.[14]

Objectives—If the standard program is conceived as an instrument to bring about social changes, the desired direction of change should be indicated by program objectives. When the program was conceived to perform an emengency function during the crisis of rural relief, the goals for individual families were to relieve their suffering and to restore them to permanent self-support. As the program continued, as understanding grew of the problem of rural poverty, and as deep-rooted couses of poverty were attacked, the objectives broadened. Stated in somewhat philosophical terms, for the individual family the goals also were to obtain a physically healthful level of living, to obtain a socially desirable level of living, to acquire the skills and abilities needed to manage one's own farm and

[14] This approach is developed in Olaf F. Larson, "The Rural Rehabilitation Program as an Instrument of Social Change," *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society, 1946*, Pullman, Washington, (June, 1946), pp. 121-127.

home successfully and independently, to achieve security, to obtain land enough for an economic unit of the family-farm type, to become a full participant in a democratic way of life, and later, to have maximum employment of family labor in the production related to the war.

The program has also had broad objectives for agriculture, rural society, and the general welfare of the nation. Changing economic and political conditions, war, and shifts in administrative personnel have resulted in shifts in some of these wider goals. Those which have continued throughout the program or have been added and continued include: (1) to save the taxpayers' money, rehabilitation being viewed as more economical than either direct or work relief; (2) to preserve, reinforce, and perpetuate the family-type farm; (3) to bring about a better adjustment of population and land resources and to conserve land resources; (4) to achieve full utilization of manpower in the low-income farm population-this last was a primary war measure; and (5) to make available to all Americans the opportunities of democracy so that they might have a stake in it. Objectives which have been dropped include: (1) to rehabilitate farmers without adverse effects on the commercial economy—this was a product of the fear of surpluses which prevailed early in the depression period; (2) to keep the maximum number of people on the land—this was primarily a reflection of the dismal employment outlook in the early depression years; and (3) to discourage undirected migration of the farm population—this was especially tied to the problem created by drought-stimulated migration. The fostering of farming as a way of life rather than as a commercial enterprise is a goal which has been greatly modified.

These goals have not been concisely stated in official pronouncements. They are expressed more concretely in terms of the working tools used to achieve them—"live at home" methods, diversified farming, tenure improvement, debt adjustment, farm and home plans, "precious" cookers.

Basic assumptions — The whole program has rested upon a set of assumptions, more implied than clearly spelled out. Those most basic to the standard rehabilitation loan program as a whole which have been at least implied during most of its life history are as follows:

1. The causes of poverty for the majority of those affected lie outside the direct control of the individual thus so disadvantaged. Further, except for certain physical disabilities, accidents, and natural calamities, most poverty has a social origin, being grounded in the nature of our society, its culture and the relationship of the individual to his social environment.

2. Poverty originating in social causes is subject to prevention and correction by social action.

3. For the most part, there is nothing fundamentally wrong with poverty-stricken rural families. They are willing and able to earn their own

living and can do so if given the right kind of a chance. They will respond to proper social action to help them.

4. Society has a responsibility to alleviate and prevent poverty since the security of our society, not simply the welfare of an individual family, is at stake.

These fundamental assumptions are a rejection of the relief philosophy inherited from the Elizabethan "poor laws." In time, one other basic assumption was propounded, namely, *the resources for lasting rehabilitation rest within the people themselves: therefore, the program must be directed at tapping and mobilizing these resources.* This premise is in accord with the democratic spirit. It stands for the exact opposite of paternalistic and continued supervision.

Tools and techniques—Supervision is the tool which ideally serves to coordinate and unify all the other tools and techniques applied to meet the problems of the individually family. Actually a supervisor occupies several roles, not only that of farm or home management advisor, but also that of family case worker, group organizer, and banker. Both group and individual methods of instruction have been followed. Periodic visits are made to the farm and home. A farm and home plan is developed jointly by family and supervisor. This is supposed to serve as a working guide for the family and be used by the supervisor as a basis for processing loans, determining repayment schedules, adjusting debts, planning the amount and kind of supervision, etc. Case loads have usually been heavier than the 125 per rural rehabilitation and 200 per home supervisor set by FSA as desirable. In October 1942, for instance, the average rural rehabilitation supervisor had the equivalent of 200 standard borrowers and the home supervisor had the equivalent of 286. In view of heavy case loads and routine duties, a real question may be raised as to how much supervisory assistance of an educational type has been received by the average borrower. During 1939 the average active borrower was reported to have received five farm and home visits.

Credit is the tool which gives the program agency a degree of control over the individual family since the granting of credit is conditional upon the family's agreement to carry out the farm and home plans worked out in conjunction with the supervisor. Loans have been rather small, although varying in size among the regions and individual borrowers. The average size of both original and supplemental loans has tended to move upward; for instance, the average size of original loan went from $240 in 1936 to $1,007 in 1944 while the average supplemental loan moved from $67 to $316 during the same period. The average borrower active on the program in 1943 had received a total of $1,310 during the five years he had been with the program. He had borrowed during three of the five years. Supplemental loans have been used extensively, accounting for 67.5 per cent of the number and 47.3 per cent of the amount of standard loans dur-

ing the whole period 1935-1944, but in 1944 accounting for 85.4 per cent of the total number. Standard loans have not been authorized for the purchase of real estate. Analysis of the purpose of loans during 1936-39 for borrowers included in the BAE study found 47 per cent of the amount was authorized for capital goods, 30 per cent for current farm expenses, 15 per cent for debt settlement and refinancing, and seven per cent for family expenses. "Recoverable" goods accounted for 66 per cent of the amount of original loans but only 39 per cent of the amount of supplemental loans. Repayment schedules varied, depending in part upon loan purposes and borrower's ability to repay, but generally have originally been for a maximum of five years. In general the amount of the loans has not varied directly with the amount of economic resources the borrowers had available at acceptance but has been related to some minimum amount deemed necessary to provide working capital and meet current expenses.

Techniques other than supervision, or the regular standard loan, adapted or developed to promote the changes which would bring about rehabilitation include improvement of tenure; group services, established with or without loans, to provide needed services or facilities such as sires or machinery where family circumstances did not justify individual ownership; group health plans to provide medical and dental care, hospitalization and drugs; adjustment of debts, a service transferred from the Farm Credit Administration in 1935; environmental sanitation; special types of loans such as for water facilities and 4-H club activity; and specialized programs in limited areas to develop new methods or meet localized needs. Examples of the latter are farm unit reorganization in the Southern Great Plains, the special negro community program, and the non-commercial experimental program.[15] Grants, a form of direct assistance not calling for direct cash repayment, were used extensively during the depression years but during the war years were greatly restricted. Prior to prohibition by Congress, written into the 1944 Agriculture Appropriation Act and subsequent Acts, cooperative associations were assisted and established to aid borrower families. Associations were for marketing, purchasing, land-leasing, veterinary care and a wide variety of other purposes. Neighborhood "action" or study groups at one time were encouraged to help borrowers discuss their problems and ways of solving them.

Data available do not permit any precise statement as to the number and proportion of standard borrowers who have received the special types of service such as debt adjustment, tenure improvement, or grants. It appears that the majority of families aided by most of these measures were standard loan borrowers. However, it is also clear that most of these

[15] The non-commercial program experiment is summarized in Rachel Rowe Swiger and Olaf F. Larson, *Climbing Toward Security*, USDA, BAE (Washington, November, 1944).

special measures have not reached anywhere near a majority of the standard loan families.

More than 27,000 group services were established through June, 1944, to aid an estimated 225,000 to 300,000 participants of all categories. About two-thirds of these were for farm machinery and something less than one-third for sires. About 4,500 associations of various types were established or given financial or supervisory assistance; this iucludes some on resettlement-type projects and many in which standard borrowers constituted only a portion of the membership. Over 1,200 of the total were groups for medical, dental or hospital care. About 1,300 were local purchasing and marketing associations.

The 493,000 families participating in over 3,500 associations of all types active at the close of 1943 affords no direct measure of the number of standard borrowers involved. Some 4,000 neighborhood action groups are estimated to have been established. Through December, 1943 grants were given to 492,900 borrowers of all types. Grants for all purposes, to borrowers and others, totaled 152 million dollars through June 1943. Debts of 187,000 individual farmers aggregating 505 million dollars were reduced over 109 million dollars by adjustment through June 1943. Debts of 119 groups amounting to 34 million dollars were reduced 66 per cent by adjustment.

The Rehabilitation Process

In analyzing the way these several tools and techniques have been used to help families with a wide range of characteristics and problems, the conclusion is reached that the real meaning of rehabilitation (or habilitation) is the attainment of the *cluster* of interrelated economic and social goals which may be defined in terms of the program objectives for the individual families. The content of these goals may be expressed in terms of practices, behavior patterns, attitudes and material possessions. Certainly rehabilitation is not solely paying off the loan, or canning a stipulated number of quarts of home produced food, just acquiring more working capital, just getting to participate in community affairs, or reaching any single one of the goals.

An understanding of what may be termed the rehabilitation process, that process whereby a family achieves the cluster of goals defined as constituting rehabilitation, is one of the most important lessons to be learned from our past experience. I can here only categorically state that the speed of the rehabilitation process is conditioned by (a) family characteristics and physical and economic resources, (b) rehabilitation aids, (c) the culture—especially as expressed by attitudes, social values, class structure, social and economic institutions and facilities—within which the relationships of the family and the program are conducted, and (d) more or less impersonal forces outside the control of family or program agency such as depression or natural calamities.

An understanding of this process

teaches the need for flexibility in the type and use of rehabilitation tools. It forces consideration of those social, economic, and physical factors which stand as obstacles to real rehabilitation. It forces recognition of the fact that a really basic program must operate on a long run basis, even though administrative considerations may compel a relatively short time limit on rehabilitation aid. The question of how long it takes to rehabilitate cannot be answered in precise terms. Even during the worst of drouth and depression years some families were apparently rehabilitated in a year or two. Yet of the families who received their first loan during 1935, one in four was still active on the program during the ninth year following acceptance and 53 per cent had definitely failed to that time in at least the financial aspects of their rehabilitation.

An analysis of the process suggests such generalizations as: (1) setting a definite time limit within which all families must achieve rehabilitation is incompatible with the nature of the rehabilitation process; in general, the lower the economic and social level at the time of starting, the longer and the more difficult it is for a family to achieve rehabilitation. (2) The more foreign are the basic assumptions and major objectives of rehabilitation to the local culture, the more difficult is the rehabilitation of individual families within that culture.

Results of the Program

Research deficiencies — When it comes to evaluating the results of the program for the individual families there are a good many problems of measurement. A first is that of defining the content of the goals in such a way that objective quantitative measures of progress are possible. The content of some goals, such as obtaining a physically healthful level of living, has been pretty well established but all that is involved in becoming a full participant in a democratic way of life has not been spelled out so measurably. Research is also needed on the matter of indices of progress because while repayment of the loan in full may at first be accepted as an indication of progress, reflection and observation will bring the conviction that every dollar loaned might be collected and not a family rehabilitated. There is also the problem of setting up "controls" adequate to differentiate the effects of program activities from other effects such as changes in price level. A basic problem, for any historical analysis, is the incompleteness of the data available for a study of changes. Thus, many of the data apply only to active borrowers. Little is known about those who paid up or who were dropped without paying up their loans. Measuring change after acceptance is impossible for many important items because the "at" or "before" acceptance situation is unknown.

Generalizations which can be made concerning progress for borrowers while on the program are necessarily limited largely to active borrowers and the quantitative data for many

important items for even this group have many deficiencies. There has been virtually no testing of the persistence of any progress after families leave the program.

There has been virtually no measurement of the "spilling over" effects of the standard program to influence neighbors of borrowers, local groups and institutions, or the effects on the general welfare.

When it comes to appraising the use of the various tools and techniques there are likewise many blank spots in our knowledge. We know little about the comparative results of different amounts and types of supervision. Such aspects as tenure improvement, many forms of cooperative activity, the effects of group health services, and special programs such as the Negro communities and special areas have not been studied at all adequately. The administrative processes and organization in relation to rehabilitation offer a field for investigation. While increased research facilities cannot now fill in many of the blank spots, there remain many problems which are a challenge to social science research.

Some results for the borrowers—Keeping in mind the deficiencies in the available measurements of the rate and extent of adoption or acquisition of the practices, behavior patterns, attitudes, and material possessions which make up the content of rehabilitation goals, some generalizations as to progress of borrowers may be attempted.

By the end of 1945, under the combined effect of "good times" and the collection policies followed, 45 per cent of the borrowers were paid up in full, seven per cent were "dropped," 22 per cent were "collection only" and 26 per cent were still active. However, this measure does not reveal much that is fundamental about rehabilitation progress. Borrowers accepted during the first two years, 1935 and 1936, made a poor collection record on the whole, while those accepted later were on the way to making a better showing.

Surveys of families after acceptance and while on the program indicate improvement for many in such observed items as health, tenure status, production of food for family use, household facilities and equipment, income, net worth, working capital, land resources and leasing arrangements. Changes in such significant factors as attitudes, morale and work habits have not been adequately measured for even active borrowers. What gains were made while on the program by families now paid up, dropped or collection-only is largely an open question.

Regions differ as to the gains which have been made. Within regions the patterns for individual families vary, some having gone forward in all respects, some in certain respects and not in others. How permanent are the gains is an unanswered question.

Results for the community and the nation—While the effects of the program which have "spilled over" have

not been measured, they can be seen in many forms.

Pressure cookers and live-at-home practices have changed buying habits. Old patterns of lending, buying and selling have been broken and replaced by new ones. Sanitary facilities and improved housing of borrowers have been imitated by non-borrowers. Better farming and land use practices have helped save soil resources. Group action has given families insight in discussing and meeting their own problems.

The impact of the program upon local communities has undoubtedly varied from one to another, depending upon the number and concentration of families helped, the uniqueness of the basic assumptions and objectives to the thinking in the locality, the resistance to or acceptance of them, and the effectiveness and results of the rehabilitation methods and policies.

Loans and grants which put a floor under the level of living of farm families during hard years also increased their purchasing power, bailed out landlords and other creditors, and helped protect the Nation's manpower resources. Grants and the portion of the loans which will not be repaid constitute a form of reallocation of income attached primarily to the person rather than to property. Pre-war loan and selection policies placed or retained as farm operator families who without such a program would have been forced out of agriculture or into a lower status. More recently they have operated to force some operators out of agriculture or into a lower status. Improved health has strengthened the Nation's manpower resources. Borrowers themselves have not been organized as a group. However, pressure groups have organized, on the one side to attack the program and its administration, and on the other to defend the program and to articulate the needs of the low income farmer.

At the end of 1943, 473 million dollars in principal plus 63.5 million dollars interest had been collected on the 801.5 million dollars loaned to individuals not on projects. At that time dropped borrowers still owed 29.3 million and collection-only borrowers 53.2 million dollars. By the end of 1945, repayments on loans to both individuals and groups (excluding corporation trust funds) already amounted to 68.5 per cent of the principal involved plus interest equivalent to 9.6 per cent of the cumulative principal and of course much of the amount outstanding was not due.

Lessons—The experience has demonstrated that the standard rural rehabilitation loan program constitutes a "social invention" which can be used to improve the well-being of farm famiiles. Certain tentative generalizations are possible now concerning the use of individual tools and techniques.[18] An appreciation has been developed of the complexity of the problem of rural poverty. Some

[18] Some of these are summarized in Olaf F. Larson, "Lessons from Rural Rehabilitation Experience," *Land Policy Review*, (Fall, 1946). The rest are included in the complete report.

insight has been gained into the meaning of rehabilitation and the nature of the rehabilitation process. This understanding and insight should help focus attention upon some of the vital problems faced by any continuing or future rural rehabilitation programs.

Rural Yugoslavia

By Alexander Vucinich†

ABSTRACT

Yugoslavia is preponderantly a country of small farm holdings and primitive agricultural technology. Although the pre-war State authorities had done but little to improve agriculture and to raise the standard of living of the rural population, they had achieved substantial results in their efforts to erase the last remnants of feudalist relations. However, their agricultural resettlement program was motivated more by political and nationalist than economic and social factors. In 1945 the new State authorities promulgated the basic law for agrarian reform based on the principle that "the land belongs to those who till it" and ostensibly dedicated to making Yugoslavia a country with only small and medium farm holdings. In actuality, this reform is the first step in the implementation of the plan of the Tito Government to collectivize agriculture on the model of the *sovkhozy* and *kolkhozy* in the Soviet Union.

RESUMEN

Yugoslavia es un país en que preponderan los pequeños terratenientes y la tecnología agrícola primitiva. Aunque las autoridades del estado habían hecho muy poco por mejorar la agricultura y el nivel de vida de la población rural, habían obtenido resultados considerables en sus esfuerzos para eradicar los últimos restos de relaciones feudales. Sin embargo, su programa de colonización agrícola fué motivado más bien por factores políticos y nacionalistas que económicos y sociales. En 1945 las nuevas autoridades del estado promulgaron las leyes básicas de la reforma agraria basada en el principio que "la tierra pertenece a los que la cultivan" y aparentemente dedicado a hacer de Yugoslavia un país de sólo fincas pequeñas o medianas. En realidad esta reforma es el primer paso hacia la implementación del plan del gobierno de Tito para colectivizar la agricultura a imitación del *sovkhozy* y *kolkhozy de la Unión Sovietica.*

I.

In 1935 I. Velikov, a Bulgarian archeologist, excavated in an obscure Balkan village called Sadovsko Kale several artifacts representing the two basic farming implements used by South Slav peasants in the sixth century of our era: a wooden plough with an iron share and a hoe.[1] The plough used by a significant number of Yugoslav peasants in the twentieth century provides hardly more than a true copy of the sixth century artifact. "250,000 peasant families in Yu-

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[1] E. E. Lipshits, "Vizantiskoe krestyanstvo i slavyanskaya kolonizatsiya," *Vizantiski Sbornik.* ("Byzantine Peasantry and Slav Colonization," *Byzantine Collection.*) Moscow, 1945, p. 108.

goslavia still use the wooden plough," lamented the Minister of Agriculture in 1941, a few weeks before the German attack.[2] But this is not all. A rural sociologist working for the Ministry of Agriculture stated directly: "Our peasant, particularly the one with small land holding, was never adequately equipped with the most essential tools and machines. According to official statistics of 1925, in our country there were only 182 wooden and 438 iron ploughs per 1,000 peasant holdings. Accordingly, 379 of each 1,000 farms had no ploughs whatever. The country had 361 harrows, 44 rollers, and 35 sowers per 1,000 farm families. In the following years this number has most probably decreased because the worn-out tools were not replaced by new ones."[3] Yet agriculture, which before the war provided 47 percent of the national income, was the occupation of 77 percent of the Yugoslav population. As industry is still in an embryonic stage the country is likely to remain predominantly agricultural.

In the opinion of most Yugoslav economists and rural sociologists the most acute agricultural problems are derived from the pronounced predominance of small farms, not larger than 12 acres in size. Approximately 65 percent of Yugoslav farms fall into this category. They are particularly numerous in Dalmatia, where 89.2 percent of the farms are under 12 acres in size. Approximately 30 percent of the land holdings are between 12 and 50 acres in size. Less than one percent of the country's total number of farms have more than 250 acres each.[4] The preponderance of small farm holdings has been correctly considered one of the principal factors thwarting the development of specialized agriculture, the rise of the agricultural net income of the nation, and the improvement of the welfare and standard of living of the rural population. Small farms produce as a rule only staple foodstuffs and fodder, thus neglecting other more specialized branches of agriculture. They are too small for profitable application of modern agricultural technology and for an increase in farm productivity. According to *Annuaire International de Statistique Agricole, 1940-1941*, an acre of arable land in Yugoslavia produces 1.9 bushels of wheat; in Czechoslovakia it produces 2.6 bushels.

The constant increase of small farm holdings, as a result of the rapid growth of the rural population[5] and negligible possibility for employment of peasants in other branches on national economy, has caused a growing impoverishment of rural areas. In

[2] *Politika* (a Belgrade daily), March 8, 1941.

[3] Maksim Goranovic, *Nas seoski posed i tehnika. Rasloyavanye i osiro mashenye sela.* (*Our Farm Holdings and Technology. Disintegration and Pauperization of the Village.*) Belgrade, 1938, p. 8.

[4] Dragomir Cosic, "Nasa agrarna struktura kao osnova drzhavne privredne politike," *Selo*, ("Our Agrarian Structure as the Basis of the State Economic Policy," *Village.*) May 6, 1945.

[5] While from 1920 to 1935 arable land increased 19 percent, the population increased 25 per cent. Mijo Mirkovic, "Suvremeni problemi polyoprivrede Yugoslaviye," *Spmenitsa I. Kongresa Ekonomista.* ("Current Problems of Yugoslav Agriculture," *The Anniversary Volume of the First Congress of Economists.*), p. 126, Zagreb, 1937.

1924 the average annual income of a peasant family was 490 dollars, in 1927 it fell to 330 dollars, and in 1936 to 200 dollars.[6] Despite all these difficulties the peasant could not turn to any more profitable profession. Undeveloped industry, inadequate urbanization — Yugoslavia has only three cities with over 100,000 and none over 450,000 inhabitants—and rapidly decreasing possibilities for emigration had forced the peasant to stay on his land. In Voivodina, the most fertile area in Yugoslavia, the development of large estates of a Prussian type, the so-called *Gutswirtschaft*, at the expense of small and medium farm holdings, was accompanied by the gradual increase of agrarian proleteriat.[7]

Pre-war state authorities had actually done very little to improve agriculture and alleviate looming pauperization of the peasantry, the backbone of the nation. True, the two laws for systematic improvement of agriculture enacted in 1929 were farsigned and liberal in their content, but they forever remained paper work without concrete implementation. The efforts to bolster rural co-operative societies brought some results, but credit co-operatives, most urgently needed by the peasants, were not sufficiently supported by the government which considered them detrimental to its own financial policy. Djordjo Krstic, a leading Yugoslav rural sociologist, stated in 1938: "If we glance at all state budgets, we shall find out that to our government agriculture is the last worry. This is a serious charge against the government and an unfortunate fact. I have compared the state budgets from 1922 to 1938 and I have found that the budget of the Ministry of Agriculture in the fiscal year 1937-1938 was 180,000 dollars smaller than the budget in the fiscal year 1922-1923, and that it did not amount to even one percent of the total state budget."[8] It is pertinent also to note that the state budget in the fiscal year 1937-1938 was 250,000 dollars higher than that of the fiscal year 1922-1923.[9]

To all these difficulties of Yugoslav agriculture, which hampered its progress and kept it at a primitive level, should be added the problem of rural over-population. On 250 acres of land suitable for agricultural economy there lived before the war 114 persons in Yugoslavia in comparison to 52 persons in Germany, 30 in England, 17 in the United States, and 11 in Canada.[10]

The combination of these factors explains one of the basic difficulties of the Yugoslav peasant and one of the basic ironies of a neglected agriculture: the Yugoslav peasant, with bread as his main diet, was undernourished. An average pre-war an-

[6] Maksim Goranovic, *op. cit.*

[7] Mijo Mirkovic, *op cit.*, p. 133.

[8] Djordjo Krstic, "Agrarno politika Bosne i Hercegovine," *Bosna i Hercegovina kao privredno podruchye.* ("Agrarian Policy in Bosnia and Hercegovina," *Bosnio and Hercegovina as an Economic Area.*), p. 114, Sarajevo, 1938.

[9] *op. cit.*, p. 114.

[10] C. E. Whipple and A. V. Totev, "Prenaseljenost sela," *Ekonomist.* ("Rural Over-Population," *Economist.*), nos 7-9, p. 340 Zagreb, 1940.

nual consumption of bread per capita in Yugolavia was 165 pounds, while in Austria it was 378 pounds, in Germany 365 pounds, in Switzerland 317 pounds, and in Czechoslovakia 374 pounds.[11] In northern and eastern Yugoslavia wheat was supplemented by potatoes and in the south by corn. In 1932 the Central Labor Inspectorate, a government agency for labor relations, computed a statistical estimate that a worker in Yugoslavia needed a minimum annual income of 52 dollars for bare existence. Yet in the same year the peasant was forced to live on an average annual net income of 9.68 dollars.[12]

All these complex agrarian problems have been aggravated by the war. Agricultural implements and buildings suffered greatly as a result of the German determination to uproot the Partisans by effecting total economic destruction. Many agricultural communities in Lika, Bosnia, and Montenegro had been wiped out. Livestock suffered during the war far more than any other branch of rural economy. According to official estimates, the number of horses was reduced to one-third of the pre-war number (approximately 800,000 horses were either taken away or killed); the number of cattle was reduced to 50 percent of the pre-war total (approximately 3,000,000 head were either taken away or slaughtered); hogs, goats, and sheep were also reduced to 50 percent of the pre-war total. In Montenegro, where livestock breeding is the principal occupation of a majority of the population, the number of sheep decreased 87 percent, the number of horses 82 percent, the number of cattle 74 percent, and the number of hogs 72 percent.[13] Even before the war the number of livestock was gradually decreasing. This was particularly true for cattle: in 1921 Yugoslavia had 403 head per 1,000 inhabitants; in 1931 this proportion was reduced to 276 head per 1,000 inhabitants.[14]

II.

Although pre-war state authorities had neglected the agricultural economy and had contributed nothing to-

[11] Slavko Secerov, *Problemi svetske i nashe privrede.* (*The Problems of World and Our Economy.*), p. 184, Belgrade, 1936. See also, Dr. Emil Palic, "Zhitni problemi nasheg Podunavlya," *Spomenitsa I. Kongresa Ekonomista.* ("The Problem of Grain Production in Our Section of the Danube Basin," *The Anniversary Volume of the First Congress of Economists.*), pp. 152-162, Zagreb, 1947. In computing these numbers the consumption of bread made from wheat flour has been taken into consideration.

[12] Djordjo Krstic, "Velichina i snaga nasheg seoskog posyeda," *Pregled.* ("The Size and Strength of our Rural Holdings," *Review.*), July-August, 1937, p. 471, Sarajevo. See also "Zemlyoradnya i nyena zaduzhenost. Referat Privilegovane Agrarne Banke," *Ekonomska Politika.* ("Agriculture and Agricultural Debt," *Economic Policy.*), Zagreb, 13 October, 1934; and Maksim Goranovic, "Polyoprivredni dohodak Yugoslaviye," *Arhiv Ministrastva Polyoprivrede.* ("Agricultural Income in Yugoslavia," *Archive of the Ministry of Agriculture*, Vol. iv, No. 9, Belgrade, 1937.

[13] *Glas* (a Belgrade daily), September 20, 1945. According to the final report of *The State Commission for the Appraisal of Damage Perpetrated in Yugoslavia by the German-Fascist Occupation Forces and their Satellites*, the enemy has caused the country's loss of 798,132 horses, 2,397,343 head of cattle, 6,824,000 sheep and goats, 2,123,282 hogs, 392,480 beehives, and 12,604,817 pieces of poultry. *Politika*, 25 October, 1945.

[14] Mijo Mirkovic, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

ward replacing medieval implements for land tilling with modern tools, and did very little toward raising the cultural standard of the peasants, they had achieved substantial results in their efforts to democratize social relations in agriculture. When Yugoslavia was created in 1918 her various component provinces showed a wide range of differences in types of land ownership. In Serbia the last vestiges of feudalism disappeared in the nineteenth century and a great majority of peasants were the owners of the land which they tilled. Land holdings not larger than 25 acres were predominant. In Croatia, Slavonia, and Voivodina, although feudalist relations were absolved, the situation with regard to the size of farm holdings was exactly opposite to the one in Serbia: in these provinces over 50 percent of land belonged to estates of 250 or more acres. In Bosnia and Hercegovina, longest under Turkish domination, feudalist relations were still in existence: of 262,631 families engaged in agriculture, over 100,000 had no land and worked as tenants on lands of Moslem landlords. A similar situation existed in Macedonia. In Dalmatia a system of quasi feudalist relations, the so-called *colonat*, historically derived from the Roman institution of *coloni*, was widespread.[15] Yugoslav legislators, pressed by the fear that unsettled agrarian relations might breed social unrest under the impact of the Russian Revolution in 1917, did not lose any time in democratizing the social structure of agriculture.

The Preliminary Decrees for the Preparation of the Agrarian Reform, enacted by the government on February 25, 1919, ruled that (a) all feudalist relations in Bosnia, Hercegovina, Macedonia, and the southern regions of Montenegro be dissolved and that their restoration be prevented by law; (b) the tenants on feudal estates be proclaimed free owners of the land which they cultivated; (c) landlords receive compensation in money for their lost land; (d) the *colonat* relations be abolished; and (e) all large land holdings be expropriated and divided among farmers with no or very little land. All fideicommissary estates, all land holdings which were rented by their owners, and all estates of 250 acres or more were classified as large estates subject to expropriation. The total of this land was estimated at 6,200,000 acres. The dissolution of feudalist relations, as one of the prime goals of the agrarian reform, was accomplished to an admirably high degree. However, owing to new laws which showed more leniency toward the owners of large landed estates, the expropriation of the latter was not carried out to the degree promised in 1919. Thus although the last vestiges of feudalism were dissolved, the problem of an equitable land distribution remained largely unsolved. A rural sociologist stated in 1939: "With regard to the democratization of the land distribution in the form of

[15] Slavko Secerov, "Stanye agrarne reforme i putevi za reshavanye," *Selo.* ("Agrarian Reform and Suggestions for Solution of its Problems," *Village.*) Dr. M. Stojadinovic Ed., pp. 560-567, Belgrade, 1929.

the transfer of the land to those who till it, the following may be said: democratization has not yet been fully accomplished . . . Large estates, and even *latifundia*, are still in existence. *Latifundia* are not so numerous as before the creation of the Yugoslav state, nor do they hold as much land. However, they exist. They hold a significant total acreage, particularly in comparison with small land holdings. 208 *latifundia* hold 963,255 acres of land while 334,436 holdings with less than two acres each do not hold even one half of the land held by these *latifundia*. . . 671,000 small land holdings with less than five acres of land possess only 25,000 acres of land more than 1,801 large estates of 250 or more acres each. This means that 671,000 families live on approximately the same acreage as 1,801 families of the owners of large estates. Approximately 676,000 small holdings possess a smaller total acreage than 56,000 large holdings." [16] This ratio of land distribution between the large and small estates brought about a serious social problem: while, to at least one-fifth of the owners of large estates, agriculture was only a secondary occupation, a large number of farmers did not get any land. According to the census of 1931, 870,000 farmers and members of their families had no land and worked as tenants or hired agricultural labor. [17]

Closely linked with the agrarian reform was the settlement program of the pre-war state authorities, which, as defined in 1919, favored the war invalids, war widows and orphans, and war veterans and volunteers, in the first place, and, in the second, peasant families with little or no land. However, beneath this humanitarian plan there was a political element which proved to be prevalent over the humanitarian ideal. Pre-war authorities used the settlement program to transfer as many farmers, and even non-farmers, as possible from Serbian areas to Voivodina to assure at least a relative Serbian majority in this province where the combined German and Hungarian minorities commanded an absolute majority, and to Kosovo and Metohia to reduce, and if possible overcome, the absolute Albanian majority. Some Serb farmers were also colonized in Macedonia with the purpose of strengthening "the genuinely Serbian element" in this province. Thus, although the authorities had succeeded in abolishing feudalist relations, they had designed their settlement program with the view of expanding the Serbian territorial supremacy in Yugoslavia.

All these shortcomings of the prewar agrarian reform provided good ammunition for the present government in its crusade against the *ancien regime*. However, in their eagerness to condemn their predecessors the

[16] Nikola Konstandinovic, *Selyachko gazdinstvo u Yugoslaviyi. I.* (*Agricultural Economy in Yugoslavia. I.*), pp. 38-39, Belgrade, 1939.

[17] Maksim Goranovic, "Profesionalna i sociyalna struktura sela u Yugoslaviyi," *Arhiv Ministarstva Poljoprivrede.* ("Profession and Social Structure of the Village in Yugoslavia," *Archive of the Ministry of Agriculture.*), Vol. v, No. 2, p. 12, Belgrade, 1938.

new authorities have failed to give pre-war administrations due credit for their successful liquidation of the last remnants of feudalism, which provided the inevitable groundwork for a democratization of the structure of land ownership.

III.

With the view of obtaining adequate "funds" of land available for distribution among the farmers with little or no land the Provisional National Assembly passed on August 23, 1945, the basic law for the new agrarian reform which ruled that the following agricultural holdings be expropriated: [18]

(1) "Large estates, i.e. such agricultural and forest holdings whose total area exceeds 110 acres, or whose cultivated land (arable land, meadows, orchards, vineyards) exceeds 62 to 86 acres if such estates are being exploited by renting or by the use of wage labor."

(2) "Agricultural estates owned by banks, business concerns, stock companies, and other private or juridic persons, with the exception of such parts of these estates which are needed by the owners for industrial, scientific, cultural, and other purposes from which society benefits."

(3) "Agricultural holdings of churches, monasteries, religious institutions, and all kinds of endowments, secular as well as religious." These institutions are allowed to retain gardens, orchards, pastures, and forests up to 12 acres of the total area for their own support.

(4) Portions of all agricultural holdings in excess of the minimum determined by the six local governments of national republics which make up Yugoslav federation. This maximum should not exceed 86 acres and should not be smaller than 50 acres of agricultural land.

(5) "Cultivated land of agricultural holdings in excess of twelve acres whose owners are not farmers by their main occupation and do not till it themselves but rent it or use wage labor."

(6) "Agricultural holdings which remained without owners or legal heirs during the course of war."

In addition to this land, whose expropriation has already been almost completely carried out, approximately 1,000,000 acres of land previously owned by the German minority and an undetermined acreage confiscated from native collaborators have been available for distribution among the benificiaries of the agrarian reform.

The basic principles of the new law for the agrarian reform are that the land belongs to those who till it, and that all the people's republics (individual provinces) are entitled, according to their local needs, to land for settlement in the fertile areas. No family may receive more than thirty or less than twenty acres of land. Partisan veterans have been given priority in getting the best land, preferably in Voivodina.

The new agrarian reform has a much deeper meaning than the paper

[18] *Official Gazette of the Federative Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia*, No. 64, August 28, 1945, amended on March 19, 1946.

indicates. Ostensibly it appears to have the same goal as the pre-war reform, that is, to lay a basis for making Yugoslavia a country dominated by small and medium farm holdings. However, while to the pre-war administrations the small and medium farms were a *goal*, they are to the present government a *means* for the further structural changes in social relations in agriculture and in land ownership. The ultimate aim of the new agrarian reform, and of the current regime, is to lay the foundation for collectivization of Yugoslav agriculture.

This reform has opened wide vistas for two basic processes, which are not necessarily concurrent. The first process consists of the breaking up of larger estates into smaller units; the second consists of merging small farms into larger farm compounds cooperatively cultivated and owned. The first process began immediately after the enactment of the basic law for the agrarian reform; the second has been thus far applied to the land affected by the land reform. It appears that a collectivization of the land which did not change its status under the agrarian reform will not be carried out in the immediate future. Meanwhile, the government is trying to assure its full supervision over all agriculture.

A series of laws preceding the basic law for land reform provided for an unprecedented control of agricultural production by the government. The Agricultural Machine Stations, patterned after the Machine-Tractor Stations in the USSR, have been established throughout the country for the purpose of not only organizing and accelerating agricultural production, but also of supervising the execution of governmental measures relevant to agriculture by local authorigties, and of propagandizing the advantages of collective farming.[19]

In order to rectify the injustices committed by pre-war administrations in regard to granting the Serbs a preferential status in the distribution of land, the Provisional National Assembly promulgated a law readjusting agrarian ownership in Kosovo-Metohia and Macedonia. This law ruled that all Serbs who settled in Kosovo-Metohia since 1919 as beneficiaries of the first agrarian reform and settlement program surrender those pieces of land which were previously cultivated by private owners, tenants, or sharecroppers, or by Albanian refugees who emigrated since 1918 for political reasons. These Serb settlers are guaranteed new land if they were not gendarmes or tax-collectors, and if they did not acquire their land as a "reward" for "special services to former reactionary regimes." Similar provisions have been made for the readjustment of land ownership in Macedonia.[20]

Those co-operative farms which have been already organized follow the pattern of Soviet *kolkhozy*. They are controlled by central co-operative authorities, who, in turn, are totally dependent on government authorities.

[19] *op. cit.*, No. 53, July 27, 1945.

[20] *op. cit.*, No. 56, August 5, 1945.

and serve as an auxiliary agency of the government. While it is unlikely that collectivization of land not falling under the agrarian reform will be carried out immediately, the government has already stepped up its propaganda in favor of farm co-operatives which is indicative of a serious official concern with plans for a full-scale collectivization of agriculture. The new law for co-operative societies, passed by the National Assembly in June, 1946, set forth the basic principles of the so-called Peasants' Working Co-operatives, the *kolkhozy* organized on voluntary basis.[21] This law aims at making new farm co-operatives fully subjected to the state economic "sector." They will serve as model farms to be used by the official propaganda machine in its efforts to influence public opinion in rural Yugoslavia in favor of collective enterprise. The government, engaged in consolidating its political forces, cannot afford at this juncture to antagonize the rural masses, known for their conservatism, skepticism toward outward intervention, and fear of any program aiming at collectivization. However, there is no doubt that the Marxist-inspired state authorities of new Yugoslavia have thus far strictly followed the paths which lead to land collectivization, and which have been succinctly formulated by Engels—in his essay "The Peasant Question in France and Germany"—as follows: "When we take possession of the state power, we shall not even think of forcibly expropriating the small peasants (with or without compensation), as we shall have to do in relation to the large landowners. Our task as regards the small peasants will first of all be to lead their private enterprise and private property into co-operative lines, not forcibly, but by example and by granting public aid for this purpose. And then, of course, we shall have ample means of showing the small peasant all the advantages connected with such a transformation, advantages which even now should be explained to him."

Thus far, collectivization of agricultural economy has taken the following three forms: first, the creation of government-owned, managed, and operated farms similar to the *sovkhozy* in the Soviet Union; second, the creation of collective farms owned by the government but given to farm co-operatives for management and cultivation in the style of Soviet *kolkhozy;* and, third, the creation of collective farms, owned, managed, and exploited by farm co-operatives.

In its broader aspects the new agrarian reform has brought to the Yugoslav peasant an extensive participation of the state authorities in the control of agricultural production, a mushrooming of co-operative farms, and a basis for more rational exploitation of land through the application of modern agricultural technology.

[21] *Glas*, June 19, 1946.

Needed Research In Rural Housing *

By Robert T. McMillan†

ABSTRACT

This paper stresses the neglect of research in rural housing, and delineates eight fields for further study. Although a trend toward greater objectivity in housing research is noted, new techniques in method are developing slowly. Because inferior housing is widespread in rural areas, research into all aspects of housing deserves greater emphasis than it has received.

RESUMEN

Este informe hace hincapié en la falta de investigaciones en el problema de alojamiento rural, y marca ocho campos para mayor estudio. Aunque se nota una tendencia a mayor objetividad en la investigación del alojamiento, nuevas técnicas de método se desarrollan muy lentamente. Debido a que el alojamiento rural malo abunda en áreas rurales, la investigación de todos los aspectos del alojamiento merece mayor emfasjs del que ha recibido.

Problem

A review of the literature on housing in the United States since 1930 discloses an amazing neglect of rural housing.[1] Attention in research has been directed rather specifically toward the housing problems of the urban middle and upper classes. The small amount of literature on rural housing has dealt largely with nonagriclultural families living on part-time or subsistence farms near cities.[2]

Much of the research in rural housing is a by-product of studies in consumption and levels of living, and is not an adequate treatment of the problem. Perhaps the lack of active interest in this subject can be traced in part to an attitude that little can be done to improve housing conditions because of the low incomes prevailing among rural families. Although limited economic resources present serious obstacles to housing improvements, the need for study of rural housing is challenging.

A few facts will serve to emphasize the importance of rural housing probems.

1. Rural dwelling units account for 41 percent of all occupied dwellings in the United States, and 45 percent of the total population occupy these dwellings.
2. More than one-half of the Nation's children are born and reared in rural homes.
3. Thirty-four percent of the rural-farm and 21 percent of the rural non-farm dwellings were in need of major repairs in 1940.
4. It is estimated by the U.S.D.A.

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* Paper read at meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Chicago, Illinois, December 29, 1946.

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[1] See E. Will, "Why Aren't Farmhouses Called Housing?" *Saturday Evening Post* (June 15, 1946), 144.

[2] See *The Farmhouse*, USDA Library List No. 19 (Washington, D. C., October, 1945). Mimeographed.

that 3,200,000 famiiles of farm operators and 1,000,000 famiiles of non-operators of farms living in the open country could not finance "acceptable" dwellings as of 1940.[3] One-half of these dwellings are classed as "non-repairable."

5. Although 18 percent of the rural-farm dwelling units, 27 percent of the rural non-farm, and 11 percent of the urban units were built between 1930 and 1940, farming communities contain large proportions of the oldest dwellings in the United States.
6. The estimated annual cash expenditures on farmers' dwellings in the United States averaged less from 1930 to 1944 than during the period from 1910 to 1929.[4]
7. From 1930 to the end of 1941, approximately 50,000 dwellings, or less than six percent of all completed new units built with loans and subsidies of Federal agencies, were located in the open country or in the Greenbelt towns.[5]
8. The 1940 Census of Housing shows wide differences in the housing of rural and urban families.

Briefly, nearly all problems of rural housing essentially refer to (1) an insufficient number of reasonably decent dwellings, (2) the poor quality of available housing, (3) the disparity between housing costs and ability to pay, and (4) the social problems associated with inferior housing.

The purpose of this paper is to indicate the need of research in farm and village housing and to suggest possibilities for meeting this need.

Fields of Research

Housing in rural areas offers a wide range of research possibilities only a few of which can be indicated in this paper. Eight fields of study will be briefly discussed: (1) Housing and the family, (2) housing and health, (3) physical characteristics of housing, (4) historical and regional aspects of housing, (5) housing education and attitudes, (6) economic and tenure aspects of housing, (7) housing of special groups, and (8) the role of private and public enterprise in housing.

1. *Housing and the Family.* Housing is associated with all the major functions of the family. Therefore, research in housing needs to take into account all the socio-economic and psycho-social characteristics of the popualtion occupying dwellings which affect the uses of housing. Because the family is so closely attached physically, socially, and psychically to the housing situation, it is a focal point for studying interaction patterns, status of family members, and functional uses with reference to time, space, and energy allocations.

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[3] USDA Interbureau Committee on Post-War Programs, *The Farm Housing Problem* (Washington, D. C., January 17, 1945). Mimeographed.

[4] Gladwin E. Young, *Government Policies As They Affect A Rural Housing Program*, Paper presented at Central States Extension Housing Conference, Chicago, Illinois, January 24-26 USDA, BAE (Mimeographed).

[5] Computation based on data taken from George H. Gray, *Housing and Citizenship: A Study of Low-Cost Housing*, (New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1946), Table IV, p. 37. The figure given does not include TVA homes.

2. *Housing and Health.* One of the most recurrent statements found in the literature on housing is the attempt by fact, inference, or implication to show that housing is a causal factor in health. However, in May of this year, Dr. M. Allen Pond, of the U. S. Public Health Service, stated that "techniques are not now available for proving that the quality of housing alone has any effect on health."[6] According to Zimmerman, practically the same generalization applies to delinquency, crime, morals, working efficiency, migration, family structure and functioning, and other factors.[7] This does not mean that all claims of causal relationship between housing and health or other named factors are invalid, but either that the techniques of measurement are not sufficiently refined to establish such correlations, or that disadvantaged people gravitate toward poor housing.

The researcher has at his disposal better measures of housing than of health. Still, the research of the Committee on the Hygiene of Housing in the American Public Health Association has been directed toward furthering the measurement of housing.[8] A pressing need exists for more exact measures of health before it can be correlated with housing.

3. *Physical Characteristics of Housing.* Housing, as conceived in this paper, is materialistic or physical in character.[9] Thus, the location, planning, design, construction, decorations, furnishings, equipment, and such characteristics as age, size, and other physical factors of housing form an appropriate field of research. Probably most housing studies in the United States have stressed physical characteristics.[10] Other researchers employ this approach perhaps more than the sociologist whose interests turn to social aspects. The tendency toward greater objectivity and the consequent efforts to measure tangible, concrete things rather than intangible, abstract items probably explains the preference for this type of approach. Furthermore, it facilitates description which seems to be the foremost aim in current social research.

4. *Historical and Regional Aspects of Housing.* Literature on housing tends to make generalizations based on evidence available from the upper middle class, or more often, from the political or economic elite.[11] Relatively little is known about housing among the poorer classes of popula-

[6] M. Allen Pond, "How Does Housing Affect Health?" *Public Health Reports*, 61 (May 10, 1945), 672.

[7] Carle C. Zimmerman, *Consumption and Standards of Living* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1936), Chap. VII.

[8] Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, *An Appraisal Method for Measuring the Quality of Housing* (New York: American Public Health Association, 1945). Also see this Committee's report *Basic Principles of Healthful Housing.*

[9] Housing is defined here as a utility or consumption good including the dwelling, equipment, and site.

[10] For example, see Albert Farwell Bemis, *The Evolving House*, 3 vols., (Cambridge: The Technology Press, 1933-1936).

[11] For example, see Thomas Tileston Waterman, *Mansions of Virginia 1706-1776* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1945).

tion during the Colonial or later periods, until early in the twentieth century. Similarly, no important systematic study has been made of regional differences in housing. Geographical, economic, and cultural influences in the several regions are of sufficient significance for housing to warrant their study. Likewise, an appraisal of the English, French, Spanish, and Indian influences on rural housing from a sociological viewpoint is needed. The effects of variations in levels of living, climatic conditions, native building materials, construction costs, and other factors traceable to geographical differences deserve greater study.

5. *Housing Education and Attitudes.* A proposition which contains a disconcerting amount of truth is that rural families in many parts of the United States reflect limited appreciation of housing generally. Whether this tendency arises from weak attachments to the land and home, to long habituation to low levels of housing, lack of interest and pride, or limited resources, the result is widespread inferior housing. The source of this behavior needs the researcher's study.

Habits, attitudes, and values relating to housing behavior probably are acquired in early childhood through informal associations in primary groups, chiefly the family. Beyond that stage, indoctrination in housing still is largely informal with advertisers easily dominating this function. With a few notable exceptions, housing is given little emphasis in the curricula of schools.[12] Research into the effectiveness of these and other organized efforts to stimulate interest in, and disseminate information on, housing is desirable.[13]

The growing interest in attitude studies should lead to more research of this type in housing.[14] Attitudes toward home ownership and the uses, care, and maintenance of housing need to be analyzed. Why is it that families frequently value automobiles and other consumption items more than comfortable homes? Is it possible that the discrepancy between expectations and realizations with reference to farm-home ownership is an important factor in producing dissatisfaction with farm life? To what extent is family disorganization a concomitant of poor housing? These and other questions involving attitudes and values pose worthwhile research problems.

6. *Economic and Tenure Aspects of*

[12] The Sloan Project in Applied Economics at the University of Florida sponsors housing courses in the public school system, the higher educational institutions, and the welfare agencies of the state. A few universities and colleges offer housing majors in home economics. Interest in rural housing has been stimulated in recent years through housing institutes at certain land-grant colleges. The Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station has conducted a series of home builders' schools.

[13] As an example of a project to arouse public interest in rural housing, see Proceedings of the Conference Sponsored By the Committee For Kentucky in association with University of Kentucky and National Committee on Housing, Inc., *Farm Housing —A Case Study* (New York: National Committee on Housing, Inc., 1946).

[14] See Howard R. Cottam, *Measurement of Housing and Attitudes Toward Housing in Rural Pennsylvania,* Pennsylvania AESB 436 (State College, 1943).

Housing. Home ownership is becoming increasingly difficult for farm families as well as others to achieve. Yet, non-ownership results in a loss of prestige for most rural families. Therefore, tenure problems and changes are continually in need of study by the rural sociologist.

The disparity between high costs of land and housing and low incomes of farm families probably is an important factor contributing to the decline in farm-home ownership, and to the trend toward dwellings of smaller value.[15] There seems to be a serious decrease in the ability of farm families to build new and replace old dwellings. Data at hand show that large proportions of dwellings constructed between 1930 and 1940 are in poor land areas. Information is needed relating to the hypothesis that new dwellings in the open country tend to be inferior in quality to those built early in this century.

Further investigation should be made into the relationship between the cost or value of dwellings and of farms to determine how much housing individual farm units can support.[16] Usually, the ratios of dwelling values to farm values increase as the latter increase, but these norms have not been established for farms arranged according to size, tenure, type of farming, region, and other important variables.

Studies of the experience of families in liquidating purchase money mortgages on farms and of the tenure histories of families are needed.[17] Two pertinent questions for study are: What effect have homestead exemptions had on rural home ownership and housing improvements? and, What has been the effect of the lack of building codes on housing and property insurance rates in rural areas?

The rural electrification program has demonstrated the value of organized cooperation in the achievement of housing improvements. Perhaps research can be undertaken to devise

[15] These trends are much more consistent and accelerated among rural-farm than among rural-nonfarm and urban families, according to data tabulated from the Census.

[16] Housing on farms is inseparably related to a rather fixed economic base, the farm unit. This militates against housing improvement in several ways. First, if land values are high relative to earning capacity, capital charges tend to reduce the income which can be spent for housing. Second, an improved dwelling is likely to raise disproportionately the farmer's property tax; consequently, farmers are reluctant to invest in housing. Third, in the competition between farm and family for income, the family is at a serious disadvantage. Farmers reason that a new tractor or bull is more profitable than a bathroom or kitchen sink. The construction and maintenance of tenants' and laborers' dwellings are unproductive costs so far as landlords are concerned. Fourth, farm buildings, including dwellings, possess almost no loan value except in terms of the earning capacity of the farm. This is well illustrated by the fact that the Federal Land Banks make relatively few loans to construct and improve farm buildings. Between 1939 and 1941 less than three per cent of the Federal Land Bank loan funds was used for this purpose. See J. D. Pope, *Review of Federal Efforts to Improve Farm Buildings.* USDA BAE (Washington, D. C., November, 1944). Mimeographed.

[17] See Leonard A. Salter, Jr., *Land Tenure in Process,* Wisconsin AES Res. Bul. 146 (Madison, 1943).

means for implementing social action in this direction.[18]

7. *Housing of Special Groups.* Rural areas have disproportionately large numbers of population whose housing presents special problems. Migrant farm laborers, aged persons, Negroes, Indians, and an all-inclusive group, low income families, furnish opportunities for housing research.[19] Not only do economic obstacles assume great importance, but such factors as migration, size of family, cultural background, and traditional inadequacy of housing tend to complicate housing among these families.[20] Research is needed (1) concerning the social problems associated with poor housing, (2) to evaluate the effectiveness of the Federal programs in reaching rural low income families, and (3) to measure the effects of changes resulting from re-housing.[21]

Although 51.4 percent of the Negroes in the United States live in rural areas, information on the housing of this disadvantaged group is sketchy and incomplete.[22] The Census of 1940 furnishes an excellent source of data on Negro housing which should be exploited more adequately.

8. *The Roles of Private and Public Enterprise in Housing.* Probably the operations of the farm-tenant purchase program under the Bankhead-Jones Act, and the F.P.H.A. will not be expanded greatly in rural areas during the next few years. Future developments in rural home ownership and improvements will be accomplished largely through private enterprise. Even so, further studies will be necessary to determine (1) the needs and demands for housing in rural areas,[23] (2) needed educational activities, (3) ways to finance adequate housing, (4) needed expansion in rural electrification, (5) possibilities of reducing

[18] John Graham, *Housing in Scandinavia,* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940), Chap. 4.

[19] For research suggestions, see Report of the Committee on Farm and Village Housing, *The President's Conference on Home and Building Ownership,* 11 vols., (Washington, D. C.: The National Capital Press, Inc., 1932) VII, 219-264.

[20] The problems of providing decent housing for low income families is relatively greater in the open country and villages than in cities due to these factors: (1) the housing needs are relatively larger; (2) the economic resources are limited comparatively; (3) the prevailing attitude among rural families that they themselves hold full responsibility for providing housing; and (4) economically-handicapped rural families especially Negroes, Indians, and old-age assistance clients, are not in a position to articulate their housing needs with the same degree of effectiveness as organized urban philanthropic and political groups.

[21] Rupert B. Vance and Gordon W. Blackwell, *New Farm Homes For Old* (University of Alabama Press, University, 1946). Also see urban studies of F. Stuart Chapin, "An Experiment on the Social Effects of Good Housing," *American Sociological Review,* V (December, 1940), 868-879, and same author, "The Effect of Slum Clearance and Rehousing on Family and Community Relationships," *American Journal of Sociology,* XLIII (March, 1938), 744-763.

[22] Perhaps the best study of Negro housing is contained in the following report, but little space is devoted to rural housing. Report of the Committee on Negro Housing, *The President's Conference on Home and Building Ownership,* Vol. VI.

[23] See Svend Reimer, "Farm Housing Behavior," *Rural Sociology,* X (June, 1945), 157-168.

housing costs, and (6) control policies for the building industry.

Methodology

Past research in rural housing can be grouped into the following types of studies: (1) family consumption, (2) housing inventories, (3) tenure, (4) house planning, costs, and financing, (5) housing adequacy, (6) housing scales and indexes, (7) housing attitudes, and (8) miscellaneous. The survey method has been used principally in the collection of data, with complete enumerations or samples as bases of observation. Limited use has been made of scales and indexes, and experimental design. In general, more emphasis has been placed on description than analysis. Consequently, little is known concerning the motivation and causation underlying housing behavior.

A few brief comments on the methodology and general utility of various types of studies are appropriate.

Studies of family consumption as conducted among farm families of the United States produce highly questionable results on housing because of the practice of imputing values to dwellings and rentals. Instead of surveying large numbers of families with the "budget" method, more case studies utilizing the Le Play method would be useful in gaining a better understanding of housing.

Housing inventories center attention on the deficiencies of housing, and if broad-scale improvements in rural housing are ever to be implemented studies of this type will be needed.[34] Such studies have further value for purposes of scale construction.[35]

A significant weakness of many tenure studies, especially of farms, is the tendency to ascribe differences between tenure classes to tenure itself. Whether a family owns or rents a home or farm is the result of many social factors, and researchers need to develop methods, both descriptive and analytical, to determine the relative importance of these factors.[36]

In general, research on rural housing adequacy and standards depends largely upon a consensus of researchers' judgments concerning the "goodness" and "badness" of housing.[37] As a consequence, the "minimum requirements," based as they are on an ur-

[34] For example, see Margaret G. Reid, *Status of Farm Housing in Iowa*, Iowa AES Res. Bul. 174 (Ames, September, 1935), and Ellen Le Noir and T. Lynn Smith, *Rural Housing in Louisiana*, Louisiana AESB 290 (Baton Rouge, August, 1937).

[35] See Charles I. Mosier, *Evaluating Rural Housing* (Gainesville: Florida Curriculum Laboratory, University of Florida and State Department of Education, August 1942); Howard R. Cottam, "Housing Scales For Rural Pennsylvania," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XXXVIII, (December, 1943), 406-416; and, William H. Sewell, *The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socio-Economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families*, Oklahoma AES Tech. Bull. 9 (Stillwater, April, 1940).

[36] John P. Dean, *Home Ownership: Is It Sound?* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945). This study is based on urban housing experience, but certain issues treated need to be evaluated in light of the history of farm ownership.

[37] See *Minimum Requirements For Farmhouses*, USDA MP 475 (Washington, D. C., October, 1941), and Maud Wilson, *Housing Requirements of Farm Families in the United States*, USDA MP 332 (Washington, D. C., February, 1939).

ban, middle class scheme of values, become the maxima or goals of rural housing. What the rural sociologist needs to know is whether, for example, a family who occupies a painted house with one room per person, a flush toilet, electric lights, and other conveniences has any better health, more happiness, and a higher degree of social adjustment than a family living in a house without these items. In other words, "adequacy" and "standards" should be defined and applied in operational terms. Here a real need exists for improvement in the methodology of housing research.

With social research aimed at greater objectivity and more refined measuring instruments, housing scales and indexes are becoming increasingly useful for making unit comparisons and for ascertaining more exact relationships between housing and other factors.[28]

Summary of Present Status and Trends of Rural Housing Research

The present status and trends in rural housing research can be summarized in the following statements:

1. The Federal government, land grant colleges, and other national, state, and local organizations generally have neglected rural areas in their housing research and action programs.
2. Villages constitute a no-man's land with reference to housing research.
3. An increasing interest in objectivity and in the development of more exact measurements of housing can be observed.
4. A trend away from cost of living studies and toward more specialized family living studies seems to be under way.
5. The interest in and demand for housing on the part of the rural population seems to be comparably greater than the efforts of researchers to furnish needed factual and interpretive information on housing for prospective home buyers, builders, money lenders, social planners, extension service workers, teachers, and other interested persons. Rural housing research lags and partly as a consequence the housing of farm and village families lags.

[28] See Robert T. McMillan, "Comparison of Rural Housing Indexes For Oklahoma," *Social Forces*, XXIV (December, 1945), 174-180.

Characteristics of Michigan's Fringe Population

By J. Allan Beegle†

ABSTRACT

The age, sex, race, and nativity composition as well as the fertility of "fringe" residents in Michigan is studied. Ten major areas surrounding the large cities form the focus of attention. In each of the areas, demographic data are secured for the urban center, for the fringe (Townships having 50 per cent or more non-village rural-nonfarm population), and the adjacent farm (Townships having 50 per cent or more rural-farm population).

Proportions of foreign-born and Negroes in the fringe are intermediate between the high proportions found in the urban centers and the low proportions found in the adjacent rural-farm. While the fringe generally occupies an intermediate position in the proportion of males, the sex ratio in the fringe is very high. The fringe areas contain large proportions of young persons under 21, small proportions of persons aged 65 and over, and an intermediate proportion of the economically productive persons aged 21-64. Birth rates are extraordinarily high in the fringe, often exceeding those of the adjacent rural-farm population.

RESUMEN

Se estudia la edad, el sexo, la raza, y el lugar de nacimiento así como la fertilidad de los residentes de "el borde" de Michigan. Forman el foco de atención el área que rodea diez ciudades grandes. En cada área se obtienen datos demográficos sobre el centro urbano, sobre "el borde" y sobre la población rural agrícola.

Las proporciones de extranjeros de nacimiento y negros en "el borde" son intermedias entre las altas proporciones halladas en los centros urbanos y las bajas proporciones halladas en la població agrícola. Aunque la proporción de varones en "el borde" ocupa una posición intermedia, la proporción de los sexos en "el borde" es muy alta. Las áreas del borde contienen altas proporciones de personas jóvenes de menos de 21 años, pequeñas proporciones de personas de 65 años y más, y una proporción intermedia de personas de 21-64 años que son productivas económicamente. El aumento proporcional de nacimientos es extremadamente alto en "el borde", más alto a veces que el de la población rural-agrícola adyacente.

A great deal of attention has been given in the last few years to the suburban or "fringe" areas surrounding the larger cities. Rapid growth during the war years in the industrial centers has forced the occupation of areas adjacent to the cities to be sure, but fundamentally the phenomenon would appear to be a part of what may be a long-time trend in the direction of decentralization.[1]

General descriptions of the fringe area, the nature of the habitat, and

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[1] See Warren S. Thompson, *Population Problems* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1942), pp. 333-336. Of the 14 cities which had over 500,000 in 1940 only 3 grew as fast as the total population, 4 lost population, and 7 grew, but not as fast as the total population. Of the 23 cities having a population of 250,000 to 500,000 in 1940, only 7 grew faster than the total population, 5 lost, and the remaining 11 grew at a slower rate than the total population.

problems encountered by the fringe dweller are abundant,[2] but little effort has been made to define this area in a specific way or to apply comprehensive demographic data to it. Although classified with the rural-nonfarm population, the fringe dweller is probably linked more intimately with the urban resident in attitudes, interests, and occupation. Certainly, the mentality of the fringe dweller is the least rural of all the rural-nonfarm residents. A precise demographic description of the fringe dweller in relation to the urban and the farm resident, however, has not come to the attention of the writer.

Objectives and Procedure

The purpose of this article is to examine the demographic characteristics of fringe dwellers in Michigan. Specifically, this paper seeks (1) to apply published census materials to persons residing in the country-city fringe, and (2) to compare the population characteristics of this group with strictly urban residents on one hand, and with strictly farm residents on the other. These groups will be compared in the following respects: (a) proportion of foreign-born, (b) proportion of Negroes, (c) proportions in the various age groups, (d) proportion of males and females, and (e) fertility.

Fundamental to this study is the utilization of a derived census category, the non-village rural-nonfarm.[3] This constitutes the residual group after eliminating all urban, rural-farm, and persons residing in incorporated villages. In the areas surrounding the major cities in Michigan, this residual group consists predominantly of fringe dwellers.[4] Townships containing 50 per cent or more NV-RNF population in this study, therefore, are designated as fringe townships. Thus, the fringe area is defined as including all townships surrounding a given center which has 50 per cent or more NV-RNF residents.

Assuming that the fringe exists in its most ideal form at the periphery of the largest cities in Michigan, this study is restricted to an analysis of

[2] The following is an excellent description of the fringe area: "Such urban outposts as the hot dog stand, the golf course, and the tavern vie with pastures and cornfields for the use of land. Farmers find themselves confronted by new neighbors who are more interested in discussing wage rates, layoffs, and collective bargaining than in such earthy topics as crop rotation, dairy herd improvement, or the merits of hybrid seed corn. And suburbanites find their new farmer friends are not always sympathetic to their desire for water and sewage facilities, bigger schools, and other such city conveniences—all of which cost money and add to the farmers' taxes. Yet more and more of these very same farmers are looking to the cities for seasonal wage employment, recreation, schooling, and worship. Likewise, more and more suburbanites are turning to the soil in quest of a more wholesome and more secure way of life than they have known in the cities. The farmer is becoming citified and the suburbanite is becoming countrified", Walter Firey, *Social Aspects to Land Use Planning in the Country-City Fringe: The Case of Flint, Michigan*, Michigan AESB 339 (East Lansing, June, 1946), p. 5. See also C. P. Loomis, J. A. Beegle, and Walter Firey, "Michigan's Country-City Fringe", *Michigan Farm Economics*, No. 42, June, 1946.

[3] The "non-village rural-nonfarm" hereafter will be referred to by the abbreviations NV-RNF or simply fringe.

[4] In addition to true fringe dwellers, the non-village rural-non-farm group includes persons living in the open country who do not farm and persons residing in small unincorporated hamlets and villages.

the areas surrounding the 10 major cities. All cities in Michigan having 25,000 or more population form centers for comparative analysis unless they should fall within the scope of a larger metropolitan area. Furthermore, the populations of all centers of 10,000 or more within each of the 10 major areas were included. Thus, the urban portion of the study consists of the following: Area I—Detroit (including the cities of Ann Arbor, Birmingham, Dearborn, Detroit, Ecorse, Ferndale, Grosse Point Park, Hamtramck, Highland Park, Pontiac, River Rouge, Royal Oak, St. Clair Shores, Wyandotte and Ypsilanti); Area II—Grand Rapids; Area III—Flint; Area IV—Lansing; Area V—Saginaw (including Bay City); Area VI—Muskegon (including Muskegon Heights); Area VII—Kalamazoo; Area VIII—Battle Creek; Area IX—Jackson; and Area X—Port Huron.

The rural-farm areas utilized in this study consist of all townships having 50 per cent or more farm population which border on the fringe townships. Thus, while these farm townships are predominantly rural-farm, they may reflect urban influence by virtue of their proximity to the central city.

Through the procedures outlined, ten areas were delineated for study. Conceptually, each area may be viewed as consisting of three concentric circles, the inner circle representing the urban core, the adjacent circle the fringe area, and the outer circle the rural-farm population. Thus each area contains a central city or central city along with satellite cities, a group of fringe townships bordering the city, and a group of rural-farm townships adjacent to the fringe townships. Computation of the relevant population indices for each of the three residence groups in the ten areas was then performed.

Findings

The proportions of urban, fringe, and adjacent rural-farm population in each of the areas is shown in Table I. The proportion of fringe population in each of the areas under consideration varies from a high of 27.5 per cent in the Jackson area to a low of 7.5 per cent in the Detroit fringe. In these 10 areas alone, 347,217 fringe dwellers reside.[5]

The Proportion of Foreign-Born

It has been repeatedly demonstrated that foreign-born elements in America are concentrated in urban areas. In fact, their proportions are highest in the urban population, intermediate in the rural-nonfarm and lowest in the rural-farm areas.[6]

This same pattern holds true in the present study, the percentages of foreign-born in total urban, total fringe, and total rural-farm segments being 16.4, 9.3 and 7.4 per cent, respectively. The urban center in each of the 10 areas contained by far the largest proportion of foreign-born persons. In three of the areas (Grand Rapids, Flint, and Muskegon), however, the

[5] The total number of non-village rural-nonfarm persons residing in Michigan in 1940 is 647,524 or 12.3 per cent of the total population. In 1930 the percentage was only 9.7. Loomis, Beegle, and Firey, *op. cit.*

[6] See T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (Rev. Ed. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), pp. 65-72.

rural-farm population contained somewhat larger proportions of foreign-born than the fringe population. These variations are indicated in Table II. In spite of minor variations, however, the fringe population of Michigan occupies an intermediate position insofar as the proportion of foreign-born is concerned.

The Proportion of Negroes

The concentration of Negroes in urban industrial centers in the North and their scarcity in rural farming areas outside of the South is well-known.[7]

In the total urban population of the present study, the proportion of Negroes is very high since Detroit is included. Due also to the fringe surrounding Detroit, the proportion of Negroes among fringe dwellers is relatively great. The adjacent rural-farm population, however, contains very few Negroes. The percentages of Negroes for all 10 areas are 6.6, 2.3, and 0.3 percent, respectively, for the urban, fringe, and adjacent rural-farm groups. In each of the ten areas (with the exception of Jackson[8] where its fringe population contains a larger percentage of Negroes than the other residential groups), the urban center contains the largest proportions of Negroes. The fringe popu-

[7] Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-133.

[8] The Jackson area frequently deviates from the usual pattern due to the inclusion of the State prison of Southern Michigan population with the fringe. The prison population unduly weights all of the demographic characteristics for this area.

TABLE I. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN THE FRINGES, ADJACENT RURAL-FARM SEGMENTS, AND IN THE URBAN CENTERS OF THE 10 AREAS STUDIED, 1940.

Area		Number and Percentage							
		TOTAL		FRINGE[1]		ADJACENT RURAL-FARM[2]		URBAN[3]	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
I	Detroit	2,253,048	100.0	168,318	7.5	30,555	1.3	2,054,175	91.2
II	Grand Rapids	215,908	100.0	36,199	16.8	15,417	7.1	164,292	76.1
III	Flint	197,201	100.0	30,531	15.5	15,127	7.7	151,543	76.8
IV	Lansing	115,237	100.0	24,559	21.3	11,925	10.4	78,753	68.3
V	Saginaw	162,937	100.0	14,445	8.9	17,742	10.9	130,750	80.2
VI	Muskegon	78,167	100.0	8,269	10.6	6,154	7.9	63,744	81.5
VII	Kalamazoo	83,854	100.0	22,065	26.3	7,692	9.2	54,097	64.5
VIII	Battle Creek	66,184	100.0	16,818	25.4	5,913	8.9	43,453	65.7
IX	Jackson	78,240	100.0	21,497	27.5	7,087	9.0	49,656	63.5
X	Port Huron	43,110	100.0	4,516	10.5	5,835	13.5	32,759	76.0
	Total	3,293,886	100.0	347,217	10.5	123,447	3.8	2,823,222	85.7

[1] "Fringe" is defined in this study as "non-village rural-nonfarm" residence groups. That is, groups residing outside the incorporated limits of cities, groups of non-farmers residing in open-country, and groups residing in small unincorporated hamlets and villages. All townships having 50% more non-village nonfarm residents are grouped as representing the fringe.

[2] Adjacent rural-farm consists of the group of townships bordering on fringe townships which have 50% or more farmers.

[3] The urban population is represented by the central city of 25,000 or more population. In the case of Areas I, V, and VI, other cities having 10,000 or more population which are nearby have also been included.

lation in all except two of the areas contains substantially higher proportions of Negroes than does the adjacent rural-farm population. Although the farm population in the Grand Rapids and Flint areas contains larger proportions of Negroes than their fringes, the difference is less than 0.1 per cent. (See Table II.)

These data, therefore, indicate that fringe populations in Michigan contain substantially larger proportions of Negroes than rural-farm areas but much smaller proportions than the urban centers.

The Sex Ratio

Numerous writers [9] have pointed to the general inverse relationship between the size of the sex ratio (the number of males per 100 females) and the density of population. On this basis, one might anticipate a rise in the sex ratio as one moves from the urban center, into the fringe, and finally into the rural-farm area.

In general such a tendency is shown

[9] See for example, P. Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929), pp. 547-548; also Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.

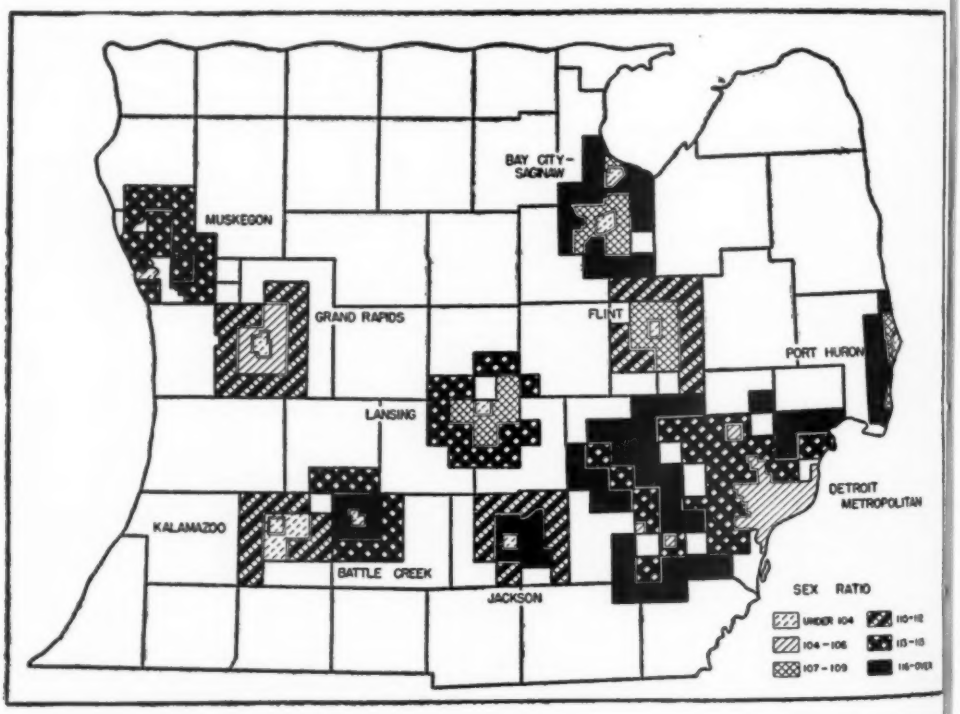


Figure 1. A comparison of the sex ratio for the urban center, fringe, and adjacent rural-farm for 10 major areas in Michigan. While the sex ratio in general increases as one moves outward from the urban center, ratios in the fringe areas correspond rather closely with the adjacent rural-farm ratios.

TABLE II. POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FRINGE, ADJACENT RURAL-FARM AND URBAN POPULATION IN THE 10 AREAS STUDIED, 1940.

Area	Population Characteristics						
	Percent Foreign-Born	Percent Negroes	Sex Ratio [1]	Percent Aged			Fertility Ratio [2]
				Under 21	21-64	65-over	
I. Detroit							
Fringe	12.6	3.7	114	38.9	56.5	4.6	435
Adjacent Farm	10.4	.6	118	38.5	53.8	7.7	444
Urban	19.1	8.0	104	33.4	62.6	4.0	277
II. Grand Rapids							
Fringe	7.7	.2	105	41.3	53.3	5.3	443
Adjacent Farm	7.9	.2	111	40.4	51.3	8.3	470
Urban	12.4	1.6	94	32.9	58.9	8.2	290
III. Flint							
Fringe	5.9	.2	108	46.1	53.3	.5	532
Adjacent Farm	6.9	.2	112	41.5	51.2	7.3	474
Urban	10.5	4.4	101	36.9	58.7	4.4	321
IV. Lansing							
Fringe	3.8	.1	107	40.9	54.5	4.6	501
Adjacent Farm	3.3	.1	115	37.9	52.7	9.4	465
Urban	6.6	2.1	95	33.4	60.3	6.3	282
V. Saginaw							
Fringe	8.2	.4	108	40.2	53.9	5.9	510
Adjacent Farm	7.7	.1	116	42.2	50.7	7.0	519
Urban	9.8	2.7	98	35.6	57.1	7.3	338
VI. Muskegon							
Fringe	6.3	1.1	114	43.2	52.1	4.7	517
Adjacent Farm	9.1	.4	115	42.3	49.2	8.5	498
Urban	9.2	2.5	100	36.6	57.6	5.9	340
VII. Kalamazoo							
Fringe	6.8	.3	100	38.9	56.3	4.8	402
Adjacent Farm	4.8	.2	110	38.1	53.4	8.5	446
Urban	8.9	2.1	95	30.1	61.0	8.9	266
VIII. Battle Creek							
Fringe	5.3	.8	117	35.6	59.2	5.2	404
Adjacent Farm	2.4	.1	113	38.8	51.5	9.7	467
Urban	6.1	4.4	94	31.5	60.1	8.4	291
IX. Jackson							
Fringe	5.4	5.3	165	30.0	64.6	5.4	417
Adjacent Farm	3.4	.1	111	36.4	53.3	10.3	431
Urban	6.9	3.0	94	31.9	59.9	8.2	280
X. Port Huron							
Fringe	10.0	2.3	109	42.6	51.5	5.9	516
Adjacent Farm	9.6	.3	119	42.2	50.3	7.5	521
Urban	13.4	3.4	94	35.5	56.8	7.6	329
TOTAL							
Fringe	9.3	2.3	114	39.5	55.8	4.7	451
Adjacent Farm	7.4	.3	114	39.8	52.1	8.1	470
Urban	16.4	6.6	102	33.6	61.8	4.8	285

[1] This ratio is derived by dividing the number of males in a population by the number of females. The quotient is then multiplied by 100.

[2] The fertility ratio is obtained by applying the following formula:

$$\frac{\text{Number of children under 5}}{\text{Number of females 15-44}} \times 1000$$

by the data. See Figure 1. However, sex ratios in the fringe populations are much more similar to those of the adjacent farm populations than to those of the urban centers. In fact, the sex ratios for the fringe, adjacent farm, and urban areas are 114 (raised by rounding), 114, and 102. See Table II. The sex ratio for all fringe areas is unduly high because of the very high ratios in the fringes of Detroit (114) and Jackson (165).[10] With the exception of Battle Creek and Jackson, the sex ratio in the fringe of each of the areas falls between the low urban and the high rural-farm ratios. On the basis of this study, the extraordinarily high sex ratio characteristic of Michigan's fringe areas would appear to be one of its unique attributes.

The Age Composition

While the generalized pattern of age for each of the major residence groups is well-known, no attempt has been made to distinguish between the rural-nonfarm population generally and the fringe population. While the rural-farm population characteristically contains large proportions of children, small proportions in the "productive" years, and fairly large proportions of aged persons, the urban population has a deficiency of children, high proportions in the productive ages, and relatively few aged persons. In most respects, the rural-nonfarm population is intermediate.[11]

In an effort to make comparisons of age, three different ages periods were arbitrarily selected: (1) persons under 21, or the youth; (2) persons 21-64, or the productive-aged group, and (3) persons 65 and over, or the aged. Each age group will be treated separately.

The Proportions Under 21

In the aggregate, the proportions of youth in the fringe area and in the adjacent rural-farm areas in Michigan are nearly identical, the percentages being 39.5 and 39.8. Both are markedly larger than the 33.6 percent under 21 to be found in ten urban areas in Michigan.

The proportions of young persons under 21 are larger in 7 of the fringe areas than in the corresponding rural-farm areas. Only in the Saginaw, Battle Creek, and Jackson[12] areas are the percentages of young persons greater in the farm than in the fringe areas.

These data, therefore, point to another distinctive feature of Michigan's fringe population, namely, its large proportion of youth.

The Proportions 21-64

The proportions of persons in the productive ages are highly uniform throughout the areas under consideration. In the aggregate, the urban centers contain by far the highest proportion (61.8 per cent); the fringe areas contain an intermediate proportion (55.8 per cent); and the adjacent

[10] See footnote 8.

[11] See T. Lynn Smith, *The Population of Louisiana: Its Composition and Changes*, Louisiana AESB 293 (Baton Rouge, 1937), pp. 35-38; also Smith, *op cit.*, pp. 71-72.

[12] The exceptional condition existing in the Jackson area is due to the higher average age of the prison population. See footnote 8.

rural-farm areas contain the smallest proportion (52.1 per cent).

This pattern holds true in every area, except Jackson, where the percentage of persons aged 21-64 is very high due to the prison population. See Figure 2.

On the basis of this study, it would appear that fringe populations exhibit proportions of productive-aged persons similar to rural-nonfarm populations generally. The pattern of high proportions of productive-aged persons in urban centers and declining proportions as one moves into the fringes and finally into the adjacent rural-farm areas, is consistent.

The Proportions 65 and Over

A great deal of variability exists in the proportion of aged persons in the present study. Although the proportion of aged in the aggregate of the fringe areas is lowest, it is intermediate in the Detroit fringe. In all except three areas (Saginaw, Kalamazoo, and Port Huron), the percentages of aged are highest in the rural-farm areas. In these areas, the urban centers contain the largest proportions. The percentages in the total urban sample is low (4.8 per cent) but slightly higher than in the total fringe (4.7 per cent), and distinctly

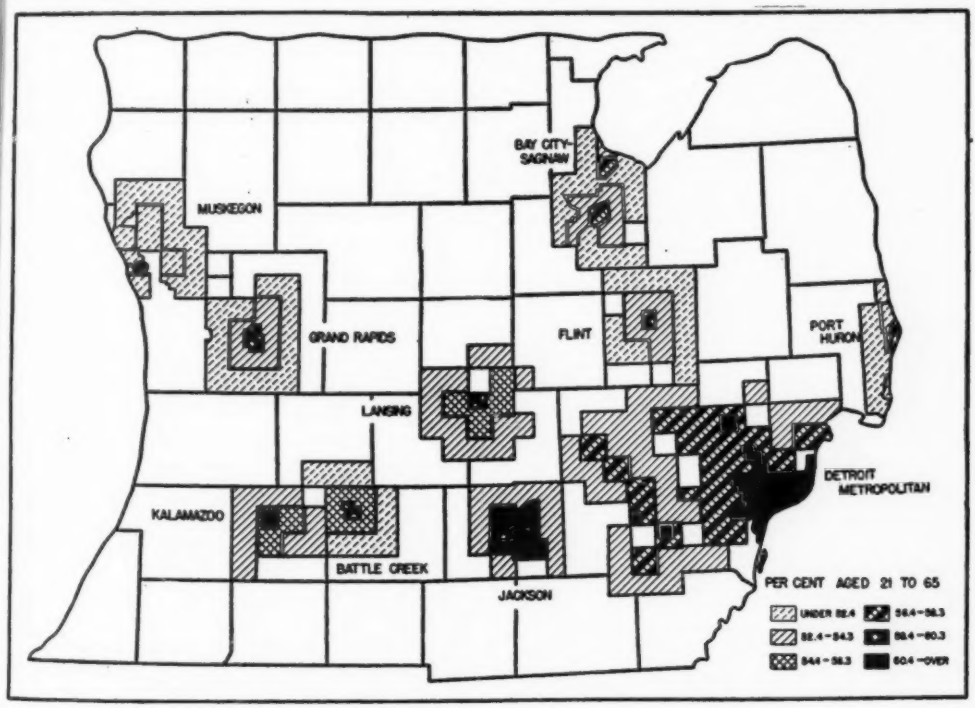


Figure 2. A comparison of productive-aged persons in the urban center, fringe, and adjacent rural-farm for 10 major areas in Michigan. Proportions of productive-aged persons decline as one moves from the urban center into the fringe and rural-farm areas.

lower than the total adjacent rural-farm (8.1 per cent).

It would appear from our analysis that the exceptionally low proportion of aged persons is another unique characteristic of fringe areas. This pattern is disturbed in the Detroit area only where the fringe contains larger percentages of aged than the urban center.

Fertility Ratio [13]

The differential between urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm areas is unquestionably the most firmly established differential in fertility.[14] Beyond the fact of low urban, intermediate rural-nonfarm and high rural-farm rates of reproduction, a number of studies[15] indicate that fertility gradually increases as one moves outward from an urban center.

The present study points to the unusually high fertility in the fringe areas. See Table II and Figure 3. Without exception the urban center is characterized by the lowest fertility ratios. In the fringe and adjacent rural-farm areas, however, the higher ratio is largely a "toss-up." The aggregate of the farm areas, however, has a slightly higher fertility ratio than the aggregate of the fringe areas, 470 as compared with 451.

The fringe dwellers in three of the ten areas (Flint, Lansing, and Muskegon) have distinctly higher fertility rates than the adjacent rural-farm population. In three more areas (Detroit, Saginaw, and Port Huron), reproduction rates for the fringe and the adjacent farm population are nearly identical. And in four areas (Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, Battle Creek and Jackson) the rural-farm persons residing outside of the fringe have the higher birth rates.

This analysis not only indicates that birth rates are unusually high in the fringe areas but also suggests that the pattern of fertility is not one of gradual increase as one moves outward from an urban center. The data from this study indicate that fertility rates rise very sharply in the fringe areas immediately outside the incorporated limits of the city. Additional study is required to determine whether or not this situation exists elsewhere.

Summary

The special demographic character of fringe areas in Michigan may be enumerated as follows:

1. The fringe populations contain smaller proportions of foreign-born

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[13] This ratio is obtained by applying the following formula:

$$\frac{\text{number of children under 5}}{\text{number of females 15-44}} \times 1000.$$

For a discussion of the merits of this ratio, see Smith, *Sociology of Rural Life, op. cit.*, pp. 131-132, and Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-153.

[14] See for example such writings as A. J. Jaffe, "Differential Fertility in the White Population in Early America," *The Journal of Heredity*, XXXI (1940), 407-411; J. A. Beegle and T. Lynn Smith, *Differential Fertility in Louisiana*, Louisiana AESB 403 (Baton Rouge, 1946), pp 14-25.

[15] See National Resources Committee, *Population Statistics, Urban Data* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1937), p. 23. For a suggestion that this situation is not invariable see P. K. Whelpton, "Geographic and Economic Differentials in Fertility," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CLXXXVIII (1936), 37-55.

persons and Negroes than the urban centers but distinctly larger proportions than the adjacent rural-farm areas.

2. In relation to their urban centers, the fringe areas contain very large proportions of males. Although the fringe generally contains smaller proportions of males than the adjacent rural-farm, the difference is not great.

3. Fringe areas in Michigan are characterized by very large proportions of youth, small proportions of aged persons, and an intermediate proportion of productive-aged persons. With respect to persons under 21 years of age, fringe populations resemble the adjacent rural-farm population. Insofar as persons aged 21-64 and those aged 65 and over are concerned, the fringe populations more nearly resemble the urban centers.

4. Birth rates in Michigan's fringe areas are unusually high, often exceeding those of the adjacent farm areas. In contrast to the unusually low fertility rates characteristic of the urban centers, birth rates in fringe areas in Michigan exceed those of the urban places by more than 60 percent.

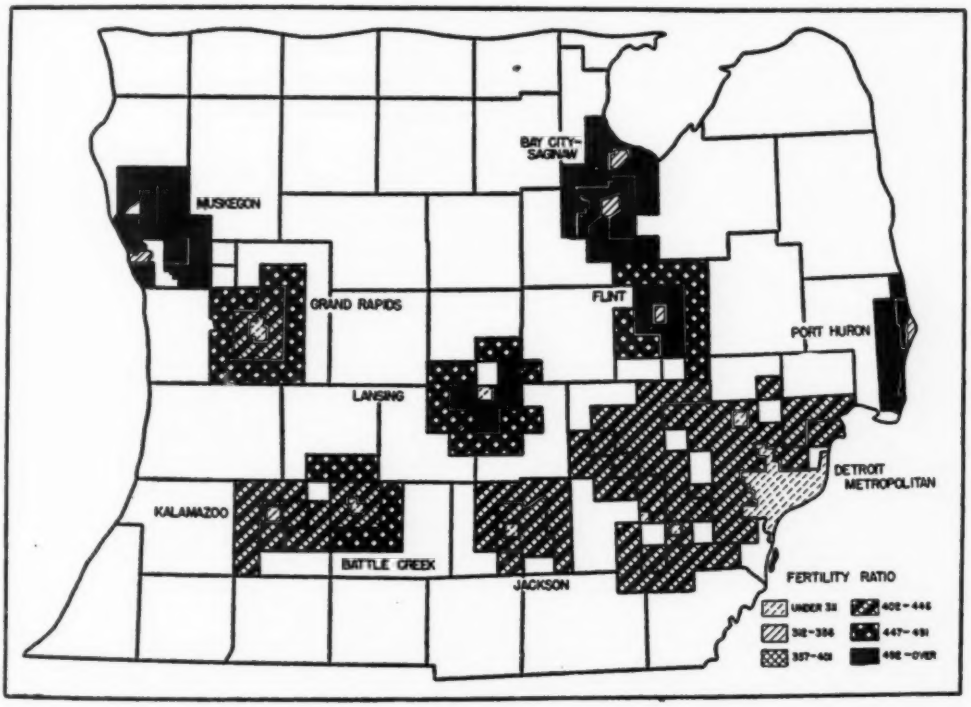


Figure 3. A comparison of fertility ratios in the urban center, fringe, and adjacent rural-farm for 10 major areas in Michigan. Note the height of the fertility ratio in fringe areas.

Materials for a Standardized Basic Course in Rural Sociology

By Wayne T. Gray†

ABSTRACT

The courses in rural sociology being taught in the colleges and universities today vary greatly in organization, content, and methodology. These differences and problems indicate the need for a standardization of the basic course in this field. Such standardization should be the result of the best thought of a large group of people and would require several years to complete. The course might logically be built upon the important topics usually considered in the introductory course, so that it could serve as the first course in sociology and as such, fit easily into a sequence of courses.

The standardization of the basic course might well be sponsored by the Rural Sociological Society. The first project would be a syllabus, the second project would be an extended bibliography, and the final project would be a standardized text in rural sociology.

RESUMEN

Los cursos de sociologiá rural que se enseñan en los colegios y universidades hoy día varian mucho en organización, contenido, y metodología. Estos problemas y diferencias indican la necesidad de normalizan el curso básico en este campo. Tal normalización debe ser el resultado de los mejores esfuerzos mentales de muchas personas y requerería muchos años para completarse. Dicho curso se basaría logicamente en los tópicos importantes que se consideran usualmente en el curso introductorio, de modo que podría servir como el primer curso en sociología y podría entrar facilmente en el orden de los otros cursos.

La normalización del curso básico debería ser fomentada por la sociedad de sociología rural. El primer proyecto sería un bosquejo, el segundo una bibliografía extensa, y el tercero un texto normalizado en la sociología rural.

We, who find in the study of rural society both a consuming interest and a means of making a livelihood, like to feel that we are part of a field of intellectual endeavor that is progressing. We want to see development and growth come from our efforts. Rural sociology, as a field of investigation and teaching is young in years—relatively speaking—but it has reached a maturity beyond its chronological age. It might be said to be in the adolescent stage, the transition between childhood and maturity. One sees its approaching maturity in the extensive research program sponsored and carried out by both governmental and private agencies; in the development of a wide professional interest; and in the organization and functioning of the Rural Sociological Society. In contrast, one sees its immaturity in a lack of coordination characterizing much of the research being carried on, and in the diversity of materials, methods, and emphases used in the rural sociology courses given in different universities and colleges throughout the country.

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Rural sociology, as a college discipline, began with an attempt to give potential rural leaders a key to the solution of rural problems. The first courses were limited in materials and were as varied in content and methodology as the background and interests of the men teaching them. As research progressed and reports were published, a body of materials accumulated, from which teachers drew to enrich their class offerings. Text books were written, and rural sociology courses grew rapidly in content, although less rapidly in organization and coordination. Progress was not altogether lacking, however, because the men who wrote texts, frequently revised them in the light of their experiences and the materials brought out by research. An additional coordinating force came through the concentration of graduate training in a few universities. The men trained in each of these universities thus have a common background and outlook. However, differences in personality and interest, and the wide variation in the institutions where they are teaching, have to the present date prevented the attainment of a greater degree of uniformity in rural sociology offerings, even at the basic course level.

This lack of uniformity, both in materials and emphasis, is readily apparent from a close observation of texts and course outlines. A tabulation of the topics used as chapter headings in fifteen of the most widely used texts of the past twenty years, revealed but three topics universally included in all, and these differed greatly in space given to and emphasis placed on them. They were: "The Rural Family," "Education and the Rural School," and "Religion and the Rural Church." In the topic "The Farm Family," some writers included a discussion of the farm home and the standard of living, while others gave these topics special emphasis by treating them in separate chapters. The comparison of chapters in different texts is not a refined method of evaluation, but it does indicate where these writers placed their emphasis and the topics they considered most important. The texts published since 1940 show greater uniformity in the materials covered than those published earlier, although there is still a wide variation both in materials included and method of treatment.

As a check on the materials being offered in rural sociology courses at the present time, the writer sent a questionnaire to seventy schools, asking the professor of rural sociology in each, to check on a list the topics which he was including in his basic course during ithe fall semester of 1946. The topics in the questionnaire were taken from a list which the writer has been using in an attempt to correlate both rural and urban sociology on the same basic outline. The list was limited, containing but thirty-nine topics, and was subject to some overlapping, since it has not reached its final stage of refinement. Yet it did form a basis for checking and space was provided for adding additional topics. The institutions

sampled included state universities, land grant colleges, and private colleges widely distributed throughout the United States. Fifty-two replies were received. Nine of these institutions were not giving courses in rural sociology during the current semester, and three came too late to be included in the tabulation. Thus the material at hand represents the current courses offered in forty universities and colleges.

The items checked in the questionnaires returned, indicated a wide variety of treatment, both in materials covered and points of emphasis. The Rural Family was the only topic given major treatment by all forty rural sociology courses. The Rural Neighborhood and Community came second, with thirty-eight stressing this item, and Rural Population came third with thirty-six institutions giving it major emphasis. Fifteen institutions or 36.6 percent were covering thirty or more of the thirty-nine topics in the questionnaire and listed five additional ones. Twenty-five or 63.3 percent of the courses agreed on less than 74.0 percent of the topics listed and included nine other topics. Eighty percent of the classes were using one of four texts, namely, — Kolb and Brunner, Landis, Sanderson, or Smith.

The report by Dr. Charles R. Hoffer, of Michigan State College of the study made by the Teaching Committee of the Rural Sociological Society, which was published in Rural Sociology, June 1942, pages 200-208, indicates the wide differences of evaluation of the topics commonly included in the course in rural sociology, as found in more widely differing institutions. This study was based upon courses offered in 198 institutions. Each college or university evaluated each of a series of 50 topics as being of major importance, minor importance, or no importance. The topics were scored and arranged in sequence of importance from one to fifty. The institutions were then classified into six groups, namely,—State Universities and Colleges, Private and Church Colleges, Teachers and Women's Colleges, Junior Colleges, Negro Colleges, and Miscellaneous Colleges. When sequences of topics were arranged for each of these groups, a wide variation of evaluation became noticeable, which was even greater for individual institutions. In only one, "The Impact of a Changing Social Order on Rural Life," which was placed first, did three of the college groups give the same importance rating. Topics, which for all institutions were rated in the first ten, were rated as low as 45th out of fifty by one group of colleges. Seven of the ten topics evaluated most highly by these 198 institutions in 1939, were among the ten most widely being taught by the forty colleges reporting to the recent questionnaire. This indicates that, although there is coming to be greater coordination in teaching rural sociology, the courses being offered today still show considerable diversity.

But why, some will ask, is it necessary to work toward a more unified

basic course in rural sociology? Are we not doing well? Are not the students learning about society? Sociologists, including those in the more limited field of rural sociology, have for some time been seeking to develop sociology into a science of society. If this is to be done, it will be necessary to work out a body of principles or workable concepts, which will be widely and uniformly recognized as basic to the wider understanding of this field of learning. When such principles or concepts are generally accepted, the first or basic course everywhere should teach these principles, so that any student may be adequately prepared to take advanced work in that or any other institution.

The standardization of the basic course will assist the student in understanding all of society, as well as his own limited field. It will facilitate the evaluation of materials taken, if the student wishes to transfer credits from one university to another, and will also prevent overlapping of materials covered, if the student takes work at more than one institution. This is important because an increasing amount of transiency is developing both among students and faculty members, and the adjustments of each would be materially improved if the courses either taken or taught were more uniform in the different institutions. Furthermore, the developing movement toward a basic testing program, both as a test for capacity and as an indication of achievement, is a movement toward greater uniformity of instruction in colleges and universities. Some schools now require students who wish to enter for graduate study to take the Graduate Record Examinations before they may enroll. If this movement continues—and there are indications that it will continue—a standardization of materials in all fields will be of increasing value to the students who must take these examinations.

A final reason for standardizing the basic course in rural sociology is professional pride on the part of those who are teaching the course. The knowledge that the materials which are being included and the techniques which are being used are approved by a large number of instructors in different institutions will enhance the professional standing of those who are teaching rural sociology. Only by developing such uniformity will this field of study approach the stage of a science of society.

Although the values accruing from the standardization of the basic course in rural sociology may be readily demonstrated, a number of very important and practical problems stand in the way of its being achieved. One of the most important of these is deciding what materials shall be included in such a course and what materials shall be omitted. Obviously all of the materials available cannot be included. It, therefore, becomes a major problem to decide what materials shall be included in the first course and what shall be left for subsequent courses. Another problem closely related to the first is the point of emphasis. Shall this basic course

teach factual materials pertinent to rural society only, or shall it include sociological principles which are pertinent and applicable to society in general, but which may be illustrated largely from materials taken from rural life? The latter seems to the writer to be the most logical approach today in an era of easier communication and closer contact.

A second problem will be the difficulty of meeting the needs of the various institutions offering courses in rural sociology. Dr. O. D. Duncan, of Oklahoma State College, in a paper entitled, "Future Teaching of Rural Sociology," read before this society in 1945, indicated three types of situations in which rural sociology was being taught, each calling for a different emphasis. Professor Duncan used the term "service course" to describe those courses offered by teachers' colleges, theological seminaries, and some agricultural colleges, where the main aim was to train the student in immediate useable techniques in rural sociology, even though he might not understand the rural situation as a part of a larger society. In many instances the student's training was limited to one course, due to the press of other required courses. A second situation consisted of the agricultural colleges having departments of rural sociology. Here rural sociology was the only sociology offered and the first course served as an introduction to advanced courses in rural sociology and as the only course in which the student would receive any training relative to society in general. The third situation was that in which rural sociology was taught as a special course in a department of general sociology. It is the first two situations, where one course is taught in teachers' colleges, or other specialized institutions of learning, and in agricultural colleges, where general sociology is not given, that a standardized basic course in rural sociology is especially needed.

The method and process of implementation is a third problem in the way of standardizing the basic course in rural sociology. It will take a great deal of time and effort to bring this about. The problems remind one of a small scale United Nations Conference. These might be dealt with through a "Three-Year Plan" in which a commission would be set to work to standardize the materials and methodologies now being used, followed by a second "Three-Year Plan" to put them into practice. This might be one of the major projects of the Rural Sociological Society over a three year period or a sequence of three-year periods.

The final obstacle to the development of a standardized basic course will be the difficulty which individual institutions and instructors will find in subordinating their own pet interests and projects to the greater common good. In some instances the problem will be primarily that of integrating the personalities of the instructors. In other cases it will be that of securing the cooperation of executive personnel who hold the purse strings of the institutions. All this

indicates that a long and difficult period of education will be necessary, before both instructors and university officials will see the value of standardization in this field.

In spite of the difficulties of implementation, the first and most important item to consider is the content of such a standardized basic course in rural sociology.

It is the belief of the writer that a basic course in rural sociology should first of all teach the more important sociological principles and concepts, which are fundamental to the understanding of society in general as well as rural society in particular. This conviction is based upon the fact that our society is becoming increasingly urban and the differences which characterize the people living on the land are becoming less distinct. An understanding of the basic sociological concepts will serve to give the student a good basis for understanding all phases of society. These concepts may be illustrated by materials from rural life which will make this course a course in rural sociology, and still not omit the fundamental materials so necessary to the student who will make further excursions into either rural or general sociology. Thus the first move in the development of such a standardized basic course will be to set forth certain concepts, a knowledge of which is considered essential to a fuller understanding of society, and build the course around these. The choice of such a list should be made upon the composite judgments of a large group of successful and experienced teachers. By way of illustration, the following outline is offered as the basis for such a standardized rural sociology course.

Basic Outline for Standardized Course in Rural Sociology

I. The Origin and Development of Society.
   1. Society under a simple pastoral economy.
   2. European and American society under a simple agricultural economy.
   3. The development of American rural society.

II. Culture: Its Origin and Development.
   1. The concept of culture.
   2. The composition of culture.
      1′ Culture trait.
      2′ Culture complex.
      3′ Culture pattern.
   3. The development of culture.
      1′ Invention and discovery.
      2′ Diffusion.
      3′ Cross-fertilization.
   4. Culture areas.

III. Population.
   1. Composition of the population.
      1′ Age.
      2′ Sex.
      3′ Fertility and mortality rates.
      4′ Marital status.
      5′ Physical and mental characteristics.
   2. Population comparisons.
      1′ Regional-Comparison between countries and within the U. S.
      2′ Rural-urban.

3. Population movements.
   1′ Immigration.
   2′ Migration.
   3′ Inter-community and intra-community.
   4′ Rural-urban.

IV. Human Ecology.
1. The relation of the rural people to their environment.
   1′ The individual farmstead method of settlement.
      1″ Isolation-Influence on the lives of the people.
      2″ Influence of improved transportation and communication.
   2′ The village community method of settlement.
      1″ Advantages.
      2″ Disadvantages.
2. Ecological patterns.
   1′ Rural.
   2′ Urban.
3. Ecological processes.

V. Social groups.
1. Primary groups.
   1′ The rural family.
   2′ The rural neighborhood.
2. Secondary groups.
   1′ The Community.
   2′ Farmers' Interest organizations.
3. Temporary groups.
4. Permanent groups.

VI. Organizations and Institutions.
1. Farmers' organizations.
2. Other organizations common in rural areas.
3. Institutions: Their nature and organizations.
4. Religion and its institutions.
5. Education and its institutions.
6. Health and its institutions.
7. Social welfare and its institutions.
8. Leisure time and its institutions.

VII. Social Processes.
1. Competition and conflict.
2. Cooperation.
   1′ Mutual Aid.
   2′ Organized co-operation.
3. Social stratification and class structure.

VIII. Social Mobility.
1. Horizontal mobility.
   1′ Shifts from farm to farm.
   2′ Retired farmers moving to town.
   3′ Movements of tenants and farm laborers.
2. Vertical mobility.
   1′ Movements from farm to city.
   2′ Climbing the agricultural ladder.
3. Influence of better transportation and communication.
4. Urban influence on rural people.
   1′ Newspapers and periodicals.
   2′ Advertising and propaganda.
   3′ Easier access to the city due to the auto and good roads.

IX. Social Control.
1. Custom: Folkways, Mores, Beliefs, Superstitions.
2. Education—Both formal and informal.
3. Religion.
4. Vested interests.
5. Propaganda.
6. Government.
   1′ Local governmental units

and the rural people.
2 ′ The farmer's use of governmental bureaus.

X. Social Planning.
1. The extension of rural co-operation.
2. Increasing mechanization of rural economic processes.
3. Increasing emphasis on conservation.
4. Regional developments. T.V.A. and M.V.A.

Further refinement and extension of this outline will be needed. Illustrative materials may be chosen from rural or a combination of rural and general materials, depending upon the situation in which the course is taught. For example, suppose we take the second item of culture by way of illustration. The student will need to learn the meaning of the term culture as used in relation to human society. He may secure this association by seeing the development of culture in rural society beginning among primitive peoples and carried out through the advancements made in American rural society during the past two hundred years. This may be emphasized further by references to developments in urban culture, for rural society cannot be considered apart from society as a whole, when it is becoming preponderantly urban. There is also the opportunity to stress here the influence of culture upon the personality and thinking processes of the rural people. Thus each of these topics may be treated with rural illustrations and still teach basic social concepts. Such an outline method, it is believed, will fill the needs of the basic course taught in agricultural colleges, teachers' colleges, and private or church related institutions of higher learning.

The first move, then, will be to develop an outline or syllabus, subdividing to a point of general assignment topics, with a suggested amount of time to be allocated to each, out of the total time available for the entire course. This outline will be of some length, but rather short in comparison with the average text at the present time. Obviously all topics considered of interest by every teacher cannot be included, therefore, choices will need to be made. A criticism of sociology books which one hears frequently is that they are too voluminous. The reader must spend too much time to get the main points being discussed. Some will criticize this outlining and shortening of materials, as taking away the initiative of the instructor and pampering the student. There is a basic body of materials with which a majority of teachers are familiar, and which they will use widely as class illustrations and reading assignments. Beyond that, it will be of value, both to busy teachers and students, if materials are more concentrated than many of them are at the present time.

The second move will be to develop a bibliography of the best materials available to illustrate each of the topics in the syllabus. These materials should be selected on the basis of evaluation by the majority of those teaching the basic course. Many times

illustrations are used only to find a little later that more desirable materials were available, but because of lack of time the professor had not discovered the illustrations which he otherwise might be using. This bibliography of the most valuable materials should either be included as a part of the course syllabus, or else as a separate bibliographical publication arranged in order of the teaching outline, or cross indexed so the best materials for each topic may easily be found.

A third move in setting up a standardized basic course in rural sociology will be the publication of a yearly digest of all the important studies and bulletins published during the year, so that the student can easily cover the materials in relation to the topics which he is studying. This may seem like the proposed concentration of food, whereby one may take three pills a day and get sufficient nourishment on which to live. This would be all right, but Oh! how we would miss the good old beefsteak, even though it were tough and required much chewing. Nourishment pills would not keep people from eating beefsteak, but there are circumstances in which they would prove most valuable. Thus the digesting of bulletins and articles will not keep interested students from reading the original publications, but it will enable the average student to cover the field more widely than he is now able to do, both because of lack of time and the scarcity of bulletins in many of the smaller colleges. These condensations will tend to put more emphasis upon the entire field of study rather than encourage a concentration upon local studies in one state or region. An additional digest each year of all the new materials, will be a valuable service to which libraries will be glad to subscribe, if it is carried out without too great cost.

Finally, a clearing house, where teachers of rural sociology may secure more information relative to the teaching values of particular materials or techniques will be of assistance both in standardizing the teaching process and in improving and strengthening the teaching of all.

These suggestions, if put into effect, will standardize the basic course in rural sociology and still leave the individual teacher much room for the use of individual initiative and resourcefulness. The courses in the larger institutions will not suffer by this change while those in the smaller colleges, given under limited resources, will be greatly improved.

What Can Be Done?

Someone must start the movement toward standardization if anything is to be accomplished. Where can this be initiated better than by a committee appointed by the Rural Sociological Society? It will be a project which will take time and which will need the co-operation of all the members who are teaching in this field. Three years is suggested for the first organization period. Such a committee will need some financial backing in the form of clerical help and postage. After the committee has formulated a suitable outline of materials the out-

line will need to be mimeographed and proved by wide use. In all probability it will need to be revised frequently for a period of 10 years or more. At the end of that time, one or more of the men who have demonstrated their ability to write, can be commissioned to write a "Sociology of Rural Life," sponsored by the Rural Sociological Society.

Then, in order not to rest on victories won, a continuing committee on teaching will need to receive suggestions whereby revisions will take place periodically. Thus the standardized basic course in rural sociology will be kept up to date and will be as alive and vital as the people it will serve.

Contemporary Trends in Rural Leadership

By Joseph E. Nuquist†

ABSTRACT

The limitations of communication agencies limited the contacts of farm populations in the past to their respective neighborhoods and communities. The standardization of production and distribution has been dangerously parallel in both modern "democratic" and "dictator" nations. Democracy is guaranteed by the continued recognition of minority interests in the future. If standardization of human activities continues to increase within the realms of production and distribution, then increased recognition must be given to the social and political differences found within each nation.

Leadership is built upon leader-follower relationships resulting from the social forces of specific groups and their institutional controls. The forms leadership may take result from: 1) individual and group adjustments; 2) the separation of economic and social forces weakening specific groups, leading to; 3) conflicts and unassociated groups in rural society, along with; 4) the rise of the autocratic leader. There is need for adaptability to new situations evolving from the balanced relationships of families to groups and to society.

RESUMEN

La falta de agencias de communicación limitó en el pasado el contacto entre la población campestre y sus respectivos vecindarios y comunidades. La normalización de producción y distribucion ha sido peligrosamente paralela en las naciones democráticas y en las dictaturías. Se garantiza la democracia reconociendo continuamente en el futuro los intereses de la minoría. Si la normalización de las actividades humanas sigue creciendo dentro del campo de la producción y la distribución, habrá que reconocer más aún las diferencias politicas y sociales que se encuentran dentro de cada nación.

La dirección de las masas descansa en las relaciones entre el que guía y el que sigue que resultan de fuerzas sociales de grupos específicos y sus controles institucionales. Las formas de esta dirección puelen resultar de: 1) adjustes entre el individuo y el grupo; 2) la separación de fuerzas económicas y sociales que debilitan ciertos grupos específicos y que causon; 3) conflictos y grupos no asociados en la sociedad rural, junto con; 4) el levantamiento de undirector autócrata. Se necesita la adaptabilidad a nuevas situaciones que nacen de las relaciones equilibradas de las familias a grupos y a la sociedad.

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Rural leadership in the United States has usually been limited to primary group relations. In the past, the limitations of communication agencies prevented the farm populations from establishing but few contacts outside of their respective neighborhoods and communities. The routine activities associated with farming were limited by natural factors. Thickly populated areas have had more leaders with their diverse types of group interests. Rural leadership has been limited to the immediate needs of the neighborhood and the community, especially where farming remained a simple, group pattern of living.

Changes in transportation have revolutionized farming. The farmer has become dependent upon the marketing of his products for his income. Since these changes have been continuous, many of the farming groups have never quite kept pace with them. This lack of adjustment was reflected in the inability of many farmers to operate their farms with sound business principles. The farmer's position, when overtaken by debt, often made him rebel against the existing credit structure.

The history of the Populist revolt and, more recently, the Farm Holiday Movement have indicated the emotional depth and the national feeling aroused by the conditions creating these periods of unrest. The dearth of rural leaders has been shown in each of these periods of unrest. While some leaders have emerged to direct the activities of the farm interests their programs have been limited and many leaders were unable to stand the test of time as individuals with a broad background or with proper perspective of their problems. The limitations in personality traits of farm leaders have often shown performance in their extrovertive attitudes and a desire for self-expression.

These situations have been distorted by the writers of history so that the usual response to rural leaders was of a negative character. The introvertive type of leader with a desire for service has been ignored all too often, even when his activity has been creative and fruitful. Some rural leaders have shown a rare combination of these traits, accompanied with a proper perspective of their problems. Communication agencies have further weakened the local interests of individuals and groups. Regional and national interests have too often supplanted these local interests which has led to the emotional support of the "charismatic" leader in times of crisis.

Democracy has always functioned best when full recognition has been given to minority interests. The standardization of the methods of production and distribution has been dangerously parallel in both modern "democratic" and "dictator" nations. The continued recognition of minority interests in the United States is one way to guarantee the functional operation of democratic institutions in the future.

It must be recognized that: If the standardization of human activities

continues to increase in the future, as it has in the past, within the realms of production and distribution, then *increased recognition must be given to the social and the political differences* that are to be found within the local areas of the nation in order to functionally maintain the various local and regional expressions of democracy as they have developed in the United States.

The contemporary trends in rural leadership will be analyzed on three levels: 1) leadership as a social phenomenon; 2) social forces and rural leadership; and, 3) the factors associated with the contemporary trends of rural leadership. Out of these trends, it is hoped that local leadership can be maintained that reflects the intelligent participation of the individual and the group that will strengthen the whole framework of society.

1. *Leadership as a Social Phenomenon.*

The problem of rural leadership is one of contemporary interest as the rural population readjusts itself to material culture patterns that have reacted upon the community and neighborhood. It is important to identify basic natural and cultural factors under present conditions and observe their contemporary trends in order to compare them with previous periods. Leadership is a *social* pattern of behavior established between a group and a leader who exerts special influence over a number of people. *Leadership* is personality in action under group conditions that moves from a social situation of unrest and dissatisfaction to one of at least temporary adjustment. The goal may not be achieved or when achieved may call for another form of leadership.[1]

When working with a limited number of people who are fairly homogeneous and imbued with the desire to reach a common goal, in rural areas as elsewhere, leadership is the only method which will call out the best endeavor of every participant. All education presupposes leadership since the development of the personality is impossible on any other basis. All social work (in the generalized sense of the term) is committed to the principle of leadership.[2] Since leadership depends upon the attitudes and habits of domination in a few people and submissive behavior in others, no set patterns can be found in evaluating the position of the leader and the group. Leaders must be able to enlist the interest of others and get themselves voluntarily accepted as pace-setters.[3]

Distinction must be made between leadership and authority. *Authority* refers to the power attached to office, involving the respect, the submission, or the reserve, accorded to those who represent the office or are invested with its rights. Authority takes a multitude of forms and is found in all organization. In its simplest form, authority rests on the power of enforce-

[1] Emory S. Bogardus, *Leaders and Leadership* (D. Appleton Century, 1934), pp. 3, 7.

[2] Paul Pigors, *Leadership or Domination* (Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935), pp. 324-325.

[3] Kimball Young, *Social Psychology* (F. S. Crofts & Co., 1933), p. 361.

ment and often involves attitudes of responsiveness and of deference with an admission of subordination on the part of the subject. This helps create as well as justify the authority itself. *Leadership* means the power to persuade or to direct men that comes from personal qualities apart from office depending upon the prowess, reputation, skill, oratory, or other attributes of the leader. The leader may be on the side of established authority or he may be opposed to it, seeking to create a new type of authority.[4]

The determination of the roles of leaders and followers depends upon the development of the individual personalities found within a given group. The private life and early conditioning of the child in primary group relations continues until there is an awareness of public objectives and interests. As the child grows older, independent activity decreases in frequency until a reciprocal set of responses with the group is established. Two definite types of leadership have been observed in preschool-children's groups: 1) the "diplomat," who by artful and indirect suggestion, can control a large number of children; and 2) the "bully," who employs brute force in "bossing" the small group he has chosen for his "gang".[5] Likewise, traits of introversion and extroversion are to be found in the adult leader.

Introversion involves thinking about ideas and has a close relationship to intellectuality and mental leadership; such leadership is usually indirect. Thought patterns are developed that stimulate creative ability and challenge the followers. Infinite patience is required since results may not be immediately achieved. Introvertive leadership may go to the extreme of expressing the idea that "whatever is, is wrong" and seeks to improve the present situation. Such a leader may have an inferiority complex and be sensitive to criticism since he is not in harmony with the world. *Extroversion* involves thinking about the objective world and its activities; such leadership is direct. The extrovert protects himself against inferiority reflexes by "writing off" any blunder he might commit as if nothing had happened. He thus stimulates others by his ease and freedom, his unhampered energy and initiative.[6]

The acceptance of the individual leader depends upon: 1) his personality traits; 2) the social situation; and 3) the event.[7] The particular form of leadership in any period is determined by the cultural norms then in vogue. Leadership thus rests upon the leaders' capacity to arouse faith in themselves by means of such techniques as: propaganda, advertizing, slogans, myths, legends, persuasion,

[4] Robert M. MacIver, *Society: A Textbook of Sociology* (Farrar & Reinhardt, 1937), pp. 336-338.

[5] Mildred B. Parten, "Leadership Among Preschool Children," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, XXVII, (1936-37), 440.

[6] Bogardus, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-198.

[7] Clarence M. Case, "Leadership and Conjecture, a Sociological Hypothesis," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVII (1932-33), 511.

flattery, along with militant and institutional forms of domination.[8]

(a). The Polarity of Activity in Leader-Follower Relationships.

A direct correlation has been found between the number of groups the average person may belong to and the intensity of his participation. Community leadership is usually vested in an inner circle of personnel common to several active groups. Polarization of leadership within the community between groups has tended to expand until some leader's range of elasticity for participation in group activity has passed. Then these groups begin to disintegrate until an equilibrium of group activity has been restored.[9]

An observation of the successive and contemporaneous types of leaders in the history of a particular midwest community disclosed the following: 1) the pioneer; 2) the booster or speculator; 3) the business enterpriser; 4) the public and semi-public official. As the community developed from one of small-town interests to that of a city of some 30,000 inhabitants, definite changes were noticed in the types of leaders. The pioneer type would be "trotted out" in later years to be displayed on special occasions to be viewed by the younger generations who would not be so familiar with the earlier types. These changes in leadership represented both individual and type changes in the community.[10]

If a proper adjustment is to be made within the group, some degree of permanency must be maintained between the type of leader and the situation in which the leader finds himself. An analysis of farmer leaders in the United States disclosed that only 22.9 per cent of the leaders were residing in the state or county of birth, while 77.1 per cent were residing outside the state or county of birth. This would indicate that either leaders assume their role because they are mobile or they are mobile because they have the innate capacity of leadership. But mobility beyond a certain intensity may not show a positive correlation and may even show a negative correlation with leadership or intelligence.[11]

The temporary leader serves during a period of transient crises and may survive for a longer period if the situation demands it. The emergency leader arises to meet the solutions of problems or conditions that evolve out of long-range trends, while the institutionalized leader is the product of long association and fixed patterns of response. The time sequence for each type will vary widely according to the local situation. Two kinds of leaders found in a specific movement are: 1) those who respond to the force which starts the movement; and

[8] K. Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 382 & 393.

[9] F. Stuart Chapin, "Leadership and Group Activity," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VIII (1923-24), 143-45.

[10] Carl W. Strow, "The Turnover of Leadership," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VIII (1924-25), 368, 369.

[11] Pitrim A. Sorokin, "Leadership and Geographical Mobility," *Sociology and Social Research*, XII (1927-28), 122, 123.

2) those who direct it after it is started. Often both functions will be filled by one leader.[12] Situations and types of leaders are not fixed patterns and no absolute form can be found.

2. *Social Forces and Rural Leadership.*

The forces uniting primary groups in rural society are usually directed into constructive channels of collective control. The personal factor often gives way to organization and it is through these groups that individuals often realize the development of their varied interests. Neither the human nor the structural factors can be disregarded so that a greater perfection of institutions is a necessary attainment. Prior to World War I, the rural population's attitude was observed to pass through three stages concerning its own problems; these were: 1) the passive stage of taking dogmatic teaching for granted and allowing things to drift; 2) as a rural problem arose in significance, almost the entire emphasis was placed on organization so that reorganization became the shibboleth with the economic factor receiving almost exclusive consideration; and 3) as farmers became wiser and imbued with a larger degree of humanistic sentiment, they began discussing what sort of institutions would turn out the best men and women. Rural leadership was gradually perceived as an indispensible means in attaining permanent improvement.[13]

Before too much pity is expended upon the inhabitants of our rural regions in the days before the development of the modern agencies of communication, we should recall that they knew more about the things affecting their own lives than the modern urbanite is likely to know about the causes of his affairs. Farmers of that period did not possess as many separate items of information, but they were compelled to *understand* the conditions that affected the conduct of their own affairs. Contemporary influences affecting individual action have become so remote as to be unknown. We have gradually come to be at the mercy of events acting upon us in unexpected, abrupt, and violent ways.[14]

Increasingly, it will be necessary to recognize that neither in our social institutions nor in our separate lives can freedom have any meaning except as that meaning has developed from the recognition of human living as mastered by obligations which have authority over us. The primary sin against freedom of expression will be found in the customs and institutions which dull and stupify the minds of a nation.[15] Even with attention focused upon common interests, the open country has been handicapped for trained resident and permanent lead-

[12] Dwight Sanderson & Robert W. Nafe. "Studies in Rural Leadership," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXIII (1929), 173.

[13] John M. Gillette, "Training for Rural Leadership," *Annals of the American Academy*, LXVII (1916), 87.

[14] John Dewey, *Freedom and Culture* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1939), pp. 44-45.

[15] Alexander Meiklejohn, *What Does America Mean?* (Norton, 1935), pp. 207 and 219.

ership because of the low level of local educational activities, the transiency of its preachers and teachers, and the migration of its trained members to cities. As town and country have become united by improved communication agencies, the state of life in many American villages has evidenced either a dearth of competent leaders or the hopelessness of efforts to get a vital response where decay has so often set in.[16] The segmented nature of local membership with only partial participation has been an important factor breaking down local interests where common, symbolic meanings once operated.

The essential heritage of rural life should include neighborly good will, agreeable mutual aid, the social control values of the primary group, pride in the physical appearance and in the institutional equipment of a definite neighborhood locality. This heritage has been limited by the contemporary aspects of social change. How to retain the virtues of the neighborhood while transcending its grave limitations has become the challenge to present-day rural community organization technique. This involves an adaptation to the larger regional unit as a functional and administrative base for an increasing number of services.[17]

But within the community, splits, divisions, and attitudes emotionally and congenially attuned to the past, along with habits that are forced into existence because of the necessity of dealing with present conditions have been a chief cause of a continued profession of devotion to democracy by those who did not think or act in accord with the moral demands of democracy. The serious threat to our democracy is not the existence of foreign totalitarian states. It is the existence within our own personal attitudes and within our own institutions of conditions similar to those which have given a victory to external authority, discipline, uniformity and dependence upon The Leader in foreign countries. Likewise, the battlefield is accordingly here—within ourselves and within our institutions.[18]

(a) Social Change and Rural Leadership.

The rural community has been carefully described by many scholars. In their simplest forms, standards of living were usually limited by natural factors. The proximity of families developed many patterns of mutual aid. The existing systems of transportation formerly limited the number of contacts with the outside world and prevented extensive migrations. Any change in the communication system of a given group will disrupt the existing culture pattern as illustrated by the advent of the horse on the North American continent, disrupting the agricultural system of the plains Indians and making nomads of them.

[16] John M. Gillette, "Community Concepts," *Social Forces*, IV (1925-26), pp 684 & 686.

[17] W. Russell Tylor, "The Process of Change from Neighborhood to Regional Organization and its Effects on Rural Life," *Social Forces*, XVI (1937), 541.

[18] Dewey, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

The settlement of the frontier after 1860 was accompanied with an extensive expansion of railroad systems. The close alignment of community settlement and railroad interests was interwoven. The railroad was followed by the automobile and good roads as well as the airplane. The telegraph made possible the rapid transmission of news, followed by the telephone, radio, and most recently, television combining sight and sound. The social consequences of these inventions have been difficult to evaluate because they have developed so rapidly that it is impossible to make an adjustment on a large scale.

The railroad as a social, communicative unit used by the community, has been supplanted by automobiles and good roads as individual units, with the result that for many individual activities, the village is no longer the functional group. All of these changes have centered interest upon the city and have aided in its development at the expense of the rural areas. In the intellectual, social, and religious spheres the relations of rural people are becoming more voluntary, freer, and less controlled by custom. In the economic sphere, the chief area of social conflict with the city, social control is tightening, and the farmer, like the trade-union man of the city, is being forced to act collectively for the maintenance of his economic interests.[19]

As technological methods separated the urban laborer from his tools, forcing him to act collectively, so is the farmer faced with the problem of technological change that can completely disrupt all existing culture patterns of family life. Before World War II, there were from one to two million persons leaving the farm annually to go to the industrial labor market. In 1870, over half of the persons with gainful occupations were in agriculture and by 1930 this proportion had been reduced to a little more than a fifth. The average workman on the farm had been able, by using new methods and aids in agriculture, to increase production over 150 per cent during the last seventy years.[20]

These changes have been a disadvantage to the farming class. Related to the rise in tenancy, sharecropping, and labor of a migratory or casual character, has been the steady loss of equity in the land by the farmer. There is need for the adoption of the larger regional unit as the functional and administrative base for an increasing number of societal services with provision for more localized working units of major service function and the enlistment of the leadership and social resources of the smaller community in conjunction with the larger enterprises.[21]

A study of 250 local rural leaders disclosed that their two major activities were social and economic with the political, educational, and religi-

[19] E. W. Burgess, (Editor) *Personality and the Social Group* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1929), p. 101.

[20] F. M. Vreeland & E. J. Fitzgerald, "Farm-City Migration and Industry's Labor Reserve," *W. P. A. Report*, No. L-7, Philadelphia, (1939), pp. 1-3.

[21] Tylor, *op. cit.*, p. 541.

ous activities holding minor places.[22] The last three leader types appear to be more "institutionalized" and subject to the more formal systems of control. The invasion of the social and economic fields by larger administrative groups has been met with varying degrees of opposition and will require a readjustment in many rural areas. Instead of remaining apart as weak, isolated communities, largely divorced from the manifold currents and services of a larger societal life, such neighborhoods as worthily survive will be those whose functions are an integrated part of a larger, regional whole, to the general enrichment of all community life.[23]

There has been an obvious lack of institutions and personalities which would be able and willing to vitalize the life of their communities by supplying them with the necessary organization and direction. This lack has resulted in a growing restlessness and a lack of opportunity for the average person. The individual is no longer bound to the community by ties of loyality and interest based on active cooperation with others in local enterprises of one sort of another. *Every advance in industry has so far been accompanied by a corresponding impoverishment in social living.*"[24]

Industrial organization (and this includes industrialized agriculture) can be no more stable than the society of which it is a part. No group can endure whose members do not possess reasonably stable relations to each other, and whose common activities are not adequately directed. The distinction between a democracy and a dictatorship is not that the former is unorganized and unled, but that each member has his appropriate share in the evolution of the organization and of its purpose, and that the types of leadership as well as leaders are also matters of mutual consent.[25]

3. *Factors Associated with Contemporary Trends of Rural Leadership.*

(a). The Problem of Individual and Group Adjustment.

Often the potential followers influence the leaders as much as the leader influences the followers. Leaders may reflect a shallow portion of a deep moving behavior pattern whose influence will be measured in their total impress upon the pattern. Likewise, leaders may reflect a deep and violent support of a temporary nature, whose influences will be immediate and sharp. The latter will be a reflection of a broader movement of the behavior pattern that has been intensified by a favorable combination of individual and group phenomena.

(b). The Separation of Economic and Social Forces.

The family has been recognized for centuries as a focus for social activity and sentiment. The new element is the modern business firm as the next most important institution in the lives of millions of individuals, yet

[22] H. W. Starling & F. R. Yoder, "Local Leaders in Washington," State College of Wash., Bulletin No. 257. (1931) p. 33.

[23] Tylor, *op. cit.*, p. 542.

[24] T. N. Whitehead, *Leadership in a Free Society* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1936), p. 165.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

business executives have been singularly shy in identifying their firms with the life of their communities, or of personally taking a part in the organization of the latter. The reason for this reluctance has been traced to a too exclusive concentration on the technological aspects of industry, and a failure to recognize industry as being a part of social living. The result is that industry as a whole, and singular firms in particular, are operating with a very minimum of general support and loyalty.[26] If communities and their local firms were bound together in the joint enterprise of running their neighborhoods, then the farmer would have a genuine interest in the fortunes of these firms.

(c). Conflict in Rural Society.

The development of new governmental functions and programs is the fruit of poorly controlled mechanization in both agriculture and industry. Social needs were formerly developed under the family-farm institution without elaborate organization or expense. The fact that we have spent billions of dollars to do the things which were once done by the farm family for itself demonstrates in a dramatic manner just how valuable the family-farm institution was to society.[27]

(d). The Problem of Unassociated Groups in Society.

Moving out in both directions from the crowd as a center,* there is a diminished recognition of the individual in both active and quiescent groups. This condition has been accentuated in modern times by: 1) the agencies of communication that have disrupted neighborhood and community relationships; and 2) space, generally physical, that formerly separated groups, has been conquered by these agencies so that local interests have been replaced and a decline in the personal associations within local groups has occured.

(e). The Rise of the Autocratic Leader.

Lip service has been rendered to the democratic way of life, but much of this apparent acceptance of democratic ideals is ritualistic rather than idealistic. Politicians, business men, and administrators, who pride themselves upon being practical men of the world, rely heavily upon dominance, wheedling, bargaining, and "log-rolling". An enormous amount of adulation is given to the leader who "gets things done," even though the methods employed are ethically dubious. It is significant that so many American business men and financiers had openly expressed their admiration for dictators before the war began. The dominance of the authoritarian in religion, politics, and economic life has been too long-continued to enable a whole people to quickly outgrow the modes of thought associated with authoritarianism. Unless authoritarianism is harsh, it is a comfortable way of dealing with the problems. The increasing specialization of functions and the growth of the "cafeteria" hab-

[26] Whitehead, *op cit.*, pp. 166-67.

[27] C. Horace Hamilton, "The Social Effects of Recent Trends in the Mechanization of Agriculture," *Rural Sociology*, IV, 17.

* See chart at end of paper.

it of selecting social values as desired, where they can be best obtained, has resulted in an increased demand for professional and institutional service.[28]

The selling of ideas, and consequently of leaders, has been adapted to the moronic levels of mob psychology where "everyone is doing it." An inventory of sales techniques has not reflected a very rapid rise in the mental level of the American public in recent years. This is an example of an adaptation of the newer agencies of communication to "impress the public." When the early institutional patterns centered around the family, opportunities for leadership were created that have been greatly altered during the period of industrial and agricultural expansion. The contemporary period of the separation of economic and social responsibility will no doubt be looked back on as one of transition in which the delegation of authority moved from specific and particular group leadership to one of indefinite and general leadership

[28] H. M. Busch, *Leadership in Group Work* (Association Press, 1934), pp. 121, 122, 126.

THE LEADER AND SOCIAL PARTICIPATION IN VARIOUS TYPES OF RELATIONSHIPS.

The interplay of forces determining the role of the leader

I. Active—limited in time and space relationships but may carry over into the quiescent realm of relationships.

Diminished recognition of the individual

1. THE MOB—centered upon one objective. The leader may be differentiated from the group but any intellectual participation is centered upon immediate, transitory objectives.

2. THE ASSEMBLY or convention—centered upon one or more major objectives with minor objectives surrounding it. The leader may be differentiated by varioustechniques ranging from mob activity and manipulation of the crowd to individual deliberation with the use of a democratic vote.

A CROWD is designated as a 'plurel' of individuals who may be brought together by chance but within the more limited realms may carry over into the realms of ACTIVE relationships.

II. Quiescent—covers a large area with 'infinite' time and space relationships but within the more limited realms may carry over into the active realm of relationships.

Diminished recognition of the individual

1. THE PRIMARY GROUP—localized with an emphasis on special interests; usually limited to the neighborhood. The leader is differentiated by a very selective group process due to its limited contacts.

2. THE SECONDARY AND TERTIARY GROUPS—dispersed with no particular interest emphasized; usually limited by regional barriers. The leader may be differentiated by ordinary group responses or by a very selective process that may recognize traits of genius in the person selected.

3. THE PUBLIC—very dispersed with limited responses (in the past); usually limited by state or national barriers. The leader may be differentiated by ordinary group responses or by a selective process such as a convention or by a vote. Group leaders may rise to lead the public and may superimpose a pattern of control upon the more limited areas.

whose authority was defined by formal and legal systems far removed from a direct expression of group opinion.

Rural leadership must recognize that ceaseless vigilance must be kept, not so much against the inroads of privileged persons and classes, as against the decay of widespread social responsibility which would necessitate excessive guidance from the top. A satisfying and progressive society is necessarily a self-analysing society, in which an experimental attitude with respect to social and political activities is combined with a wide-spread concern for the accepted ways of life; without the loyalties and the understandings which adhere to the latter, the whole framework of society becomes utterly meaningless. [29]

Rural leadership must continue to recognize group interests and the need for adaptability to new situations without destroying group identity, the harmonious relationship of economic and other institutional patterns, and the position of the family in rural life. Out of these forces must evolve a balance relationship of the family to the group and to society.

[29] Whitehead, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-59.

The Rural Negro Minister: His Work And Salary

By Harry W. Roberts†

ABSTRACT

This article is a study of 141 ministers in Virginia, 117 of whom pastor rural churches. These ministers pastor 305 churches located in 60 of the 100 counties of the State. The study covers two general aspects of the minister's life—(a) what he does, and (b) what material reward he receives for what he does. The study includes the number of churches served, the number of Sundays preaching services are held, the number of members per church, the amount, mode, and cost of Sunday travel, the salary received, parsonages provided, the reasons for and the result of low salaries, the minister's secular employment, and its effects upon the minister and his task.

RESUMEN

Este artículo es un estudio de 141 ministros en Virginia, 117 de los cuales son pastores de iglesias rurales. Estos ministros están a cargo de 305 iglesias localizadas en 60 de los 100 municipios (condados) del estado. El estudio cubre dos aspectos generales de la vida del ministro: (a) lo que hace, y (b) el pago material por lo que hace. El estudio incluye el número de iglesias que sirve, el número de domingos en que predican, el número de miembros por iglesia, la cantidad, el modo, y el costo de los viajes domingueros, el sueldo recibido, el alojamiento provisto, la causa y el resultado de los sueldos bajos, el empleo secular de los ministros, y los efectos que tiene sobre el ministro y su tarea.

† Virginia State College.

The rural Negro minister is one of the two most important professional leaders in the rural areas of the Southland; the other is the public school teacher. Too little, however, is known concerning the minister. This study was undertaken with the view toward shedding a little light on the character of the man and his work.

It covers 141 ministers who attended the Summer School for Ministers at Virginia State College from 1943-1946[1] of whom 132 were pastoring churches. Ninety ministers were pastoring rural churches only; fifteen were pastoring urban churches only; and 27 were pastoring both rural and urban churches. Nine were not pastoring. These 132 ministers pastored a total of 305[2] churches in as many communities located in sixty counties representing every significant sub-region in the State in which Negroes are a significant part of the population. These ministers represent eleven denominations; namely, African Methodist Episcopal, African Methodist Episcopal Zion, Baptist, Church of God in Christ, Colored Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, Missionary Baptist, Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, Reformed Zion Union Apostolic, and the United Holy Church of America, Inc.

The data were secured from the ministers by interviews and by use of a questionnaire which was filled out by the ministers with the assistance of the writer.

One of the characteristics of the average rural Negro minister is that he pastors more than one church. This means that he is a leader in more than one community. The average number of churches pastored by ninety ministers who served rural

[1] The Summer School for Ministers was conducted by the Conference of Virginia Negro Colleges on Rural Life of which the following institutions were members: Bishop Payne Divinity School, Hampton Institute, St. Paul's Polytechnic Institute, Virginia State College, Virginia Theological Seminary and College, and Virginia Union University. The ministers attending came by general invitation sent them through the newspapers and personal letter, without any limitations or requirements as to educational standing or denominational affiliation.

Although a sampling technique was not applied, the response of the ministers to the general invitation to attend the Summer School from every indication is thoroughly representative of the rural Negro ministry in Virginia.

The 117 represent 21% of the estimated 556 rural ministers in the state. This estimate is arrived at by taking the 1390 rural churches, according to the 1936 *Census of Religious Bodies* (Vol. 1, p. 864), and dividing them by 2.5 which is about the average number of churches served by rural ministers.

The 257 churches which the rural ministers pastor represent 18.5% of the 1390 rural churches, and the 305 churches pastored by 132 ministers in the study constitute 17% of the 1783 Negro churches in the State.

These 305 churches are located in as many communities in 60 counties, representing every significant sub-region of the State in which Negroes are a significant part of the population (p. 1 or article).

The ministers represent 11 denominations in the State and in about the proportions

[2] These three hundred and five churches constitute 17 per cent of the 1783 Negro churches in the State according to the *Census of Religious Bodies, 1936*, I, 896.

that these denominations are represented in the State.

The ministers represent all age levels and all educational levels—from the scarcely literate to those with college and seminary degrees—and in about the proportions as found in rural areas of the State.

TABLE I. CHURCHES SERVED PER MINISTER.

Ministers classified according to the type of church served	Total number of ministers	Total number of ministers reporting	Total number of churches served	Number of churches served						Average number of churches served
				1	2	3	4	5	6	
Rural churches only	90	90	212	20	34	24	9	2	1	2.4
Urban churches only	15	15	19	11	4	0	0	0	0	1.3
Rural and urban churches	27	27	74	0	15	4	8	0	0	2.7
Not pastoring	9	9	0							

churches only was 2.4 (Table I.). Only 20 pastors, or 22.2 per cent, pastored one church. Thirty-four, or 37.8 per cent of the ninety ministers, pastored two churches and 24, or 27 per cent of them, pastored three churches. Nine pastors served four churches; two served five, and one served six. This is quite a contrast to the number of churches served by pastors of urban churches only. The latter served an average of 1.3 churches; 73 per cent of them serving one church only. It is also of interest to note that the 27 pastors serving both rural and urban churches average a slightly higher number of churches—2.7—than the pastors of rural churches only. The lowest number of churches served by this group was two and the highest number was four. Fifteen of these pastors, 55.5 per cent served two churches; four, or 15 per cent, served three churches; and eight, or 30 per cer cent served four churches.

Another characteristic of the average rural Negro minister is that he conducts religious services at each church only one or two Sundays a month. The 90 ministers pastoring 212 churches held services on the average of 1.5 Sundays per month, whereas those pastoring urban churches only, served their churches on an average of 3.4 Sundays per month.

Those ministers serving both rural and urban churches tend to serve their rural churches a little less often than do pastors of rural churches on-

TABLE II. NUMBER OF SUNDAYS PER MONTH EACH CHURCH SERVED.

Ministers classified according to the type of church served	Total number of ministers	Total number of ministers reporting	Total number of churches served	Number of Sundays served per month				Average number of Sundays each church served per month
				1	2	3	4	
Rural churches only	90	90	212	119	80	3	9	1.5
Urban churches only	15	15	19	2	2	2	13	3.4
Rural and urban churches	27	27	74	37	26	2	9	1.7
Urban churches only	27	27	29					2.4
Rural churches only	27	27	45					1.4

ly and serve their urban churches on an average a Sunday less than do the pastors of urban churches.

The range of the number of Sundays the churches are served is also shown in Table II. A minister pastoring two or more churches may serve one church one Sunday per month, another two Sundays per month, a third three Sundays per month. In short, he may serve any one of his churches from one to four Sundays per month.

Of the 211 churches pastored by the 90 ministers pastoring rural churches exclusively, 119 or 56.4 per cent were served by their pastors one Sunday per month; 38 per cent were served twice a month; and only 4.3 per cent were served every Sunday. On the other hand, 68 per cent of the 19 churches pastored by ministers serving urban churches exclusively, had the services of their pastor every Sunday. These same pastors served 10.5 per cent of their churches one Sunday per month, and the same percentage two and three Sundays per month. The 27 ministers serving 74 rural and urban churches served 85 per cent of them one and two Sundays per month and only 12 per cent of the churches every Sunday.

Memberships of Churches

The size of the church membership gives some idea of the number of persons for whom the minister, as leader of his people, is responsible. It also gives some idea of the amount of work to be done and which the minister may be expected to perform. The membership must be organized into a working unit and the relationships among the several organizations within the church must be regulated. The members must be visited when sick. Marriages, christenings, baptisms, funerals and other rites and ceremonies of the church must be performed for them. Counsel and advice on matters religious and secular must be given; the people must be represented in religious and civic matters; in addition, they must be led in those specific religious activities which are the special function of the minister as teacher and preacher. The churches pastored by ministers pastoring rural churches only had an average membership of 176 persons. Since these pastors serve 2.4 churches (Table I), it means that they serve a membership averaging 422 persons.

The ministers pastoring urban churches only had an average of 159.8 members per church or an average service load of 208 members.

The ministers pastoring both rural and urban churches had an average

TABLE III. THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE CHURCHES.

Ministers classified according to the type of church served	Total number of churches	Total number of churches reporting membership	Total membership of churches	Average number of memberships
Rural churches only	212	200	35,201	176.0
Urban churches only	19	18	2,876	159.8
Urban and rural churches	74	66	13,027	197.4

membership per church of 197.4, or an average service of 533 members.

It must be remembered that a number of persons served in a given church by a pastor may be much larger than the membership. Although churches differ in their manner of determining membership, generally there are adults and particularly children who attend and participate in the life of the church but are not counted as members. There are also adults and children in a community who may not attend any church but who, in times of crises, call upon the minister for service.

Absenteeism is another characteristic of most rural ministers. Because of the tendency of rural ministers to pastor two or more churches and to live in the towns, few of them live in the communities in which their churches are located. Of the 90 ministers pastoring rural churches only, only 23.3 per cent of them lived one mile or less from one of their churches.

Of the 15 pastors of urban churches eight or 53 per cent lived one mile or less from one of their churches. Of the 27 pastors of rural and urban churches, 15 or 56 per cent lived one mile or less from one of their churches. In each of these cases, if the minister had more than one church he lived more than a mile from each of the other.

The average distance of the churches from the residence of the above named classes of ministers are respectively, 23.7, 5.5, and 20.7 miles or a round-trip distance, respectively, of 47.4, 11.0, and 41.4 miles. (Table IV).

Because of the isolation of so many Negro communities and the lack of public transportation facilities, most of the ministers must own a private car for travel to and from their churches. Sixteen counties in the State have no railroad service. In 12 of these counties one-third to two-thirds of the population are Negroes.[8] Moreover, in many counties with or without railroads, bus service exists only on the one or two main highways that pass through the county. Hence, 73 per cent of the pastors of rural churches only use private cars, 17 per cent use the bus and 4.4 per cent use the train or alternate between the bus and train. (Table V.) Of the pas-

[8] Harry W. Roberts, *The Life and Labor of Virginia Rural Negroes* (1943), p. 93, unpublished doctor's thesis, Yale University Library.

TABLE IV. AVERAGE DISTANCE OF CHURCH FROM PASTOR'S RESIDENCE IN MILES.

Ministers classified according to the type of church served	Number of ministers reporting	Average number of churches		Average number of miles total number of churches from residences
		Less than 1 mile from residence	1 mile or more from residence	
Rural churches only	90	16	196	23.7
Urban churches only	15	7	12	5.5
Rural and urban churches	27	15	59	20.7

TABLE V. MODE OF TRAVEL TO CHURCH.

Ministers classified according to the type of church served	Number of ministers reporting	Modes of Travel				
		Walk	Private Automobile	Bus	Train	Other
Rural churches only	90	5	66	15	4	0
Urban churches only	15	4	5	4	0	2
Rural and urban churches	27	1	21	3	2	0

tors of urban churches only, 33 per cent use the private car for travel to their churches, 27 per cent use the bus and 27 per cent walk.

Of the 27 ministers pastoring rural and urban churches, 80 per cent use private cars, 19 per cent use the bus or train.

In some cases when the pastor does not own a car he may hire a taxi or someone he knows to drive him to and from his church. Occasionally, if his car breaks down or he is without the use of his car temporarily a member or officer of the church who has a car may perform this service sometimes without charge and sometimes for enough to cover the cost of gas and oil. This places the pastor in a dependent position which he does not relish. To hire a car is quite expensive and very inconvenient for the pastor and the people whom he serves, for the chauffeur generally gives the pastor to understand that he cannot wait at the church longer than the hour or two necessary to conduct his service. One such case is a minister who has two rural churches, one of them 18 miles and the other 52 miles from his residence. He serves each church one Sunday per month for which he receives an average of $8.00 from each. He hires an acquaintance to drive him to his church 18 miles away and pays him $5.00 a trip. The driver gets him to his church in time to preach his sermon and immediately thereafter drives him home. He rides with a fellowminister who serves in the area of his second church and pays him $3.00 per trip.

Bad weather may create very serious travel problems for the minister and make his travel prohibitive. Nearly every year rains close even portions of the Federal highways; heavy fogs often make night driving especially hazardous; and heavy snow or sleet may make the roads impassable.

TABLE VI. COST OF TRAVEL.

Ministers classified according to the type of church served	Total number of miles traveled per month for regular Sunday services	Total estimated cost per month	Number of ministers reporting	Average estimated cost to minister per month
Rural churches only	13,702	$605.98	90	$6.99
Urban churches only	540	23.70	15	1.58
Rural and urban churches	4,560	177.85	27	6.59

The cost of this travel is borne by the minister. Only seven ministers out of the total 132 reported their travel expenses paid by their churches. The average monthly cost of travel to each of the 90 ministers pastoring rural churches only was $6.99; for the 15 ministers serving urban churches only the cost was $1.58; and for the 27 ministers serving rural and urban churches the cost was $6.59 (Table VI).[4]

This travel cost does not include the cost of repair and care of the car. Nor does it include other trips made to the church, to members' homes, to funerals, or to other special services or events in or out of the community that are a necessary part of the pastor's service to his church. For example, nearly every pastor, particularly of the Baptist churches, which constitute 72 per cent of the churches in the State, visits each of his churches at least one weekday in the month for a business meeting.

Salary of the Minister

What salary is paid the minister for his services? Ministers appear to fall in at least three classes with respect to remuneration for services rendered. First, there are those who receive a fixed salary—a definite contractual arrangement or agreement (verbal) that the church will pay the minister a certain sum for a certain period of service, usually so much per month or per year. Some ministers agree to serve a church for so much a sermon. In such cases, the minister is not paid for any Sunday that he does not preach, regardless of the cause. If the church with which he has such an arrangement has service once a month and he misses that service he receives no salary that month. It is reported that this occurs also when ministers agree to receive a monthly salary. For this reason many ministers contract for an annual salary which may be paid monthly. Whether the minister receives his pay, regardless of whether he holds religious service or not, depends primarily upon the nature of his agreement with the people. Secondly, there are those ministers who receive "whatever the church raises" in the general collection or a certain portion thereof, perhaps one-half or two-thirds, excluding money raised in rallies. Such ministers may fare well or poorly, depending upon the amount of the general collections and the attitude of the people toward the minister and the share they think he should have. Thirdly, there are a few ministers who receive no salary or income from the church, except perhaps a gift in appreciation for his services. Some of these men actually put their own money into the church to enable it to survive and grow. In one case, for example, a minister who

[4] The ministers were asked to estimate their round-trip expenses to their churches if they drove a car and to give the bus or train fare if either was used. The conservative character of their estimates is shown by the fact that the total estimated cost per month for the number of miles travelled is less than five cents per mile allowed by the State of Virginia for its employees. At five cents per mile the 90 ministers would have paid $685.10 instead of $605.98; the 15 ministers would have paid $27.00 instead of $23.70; and the 27 ministers would have paid $228.00 instead of $177.95.

is a barber and a carpenter by trade, is building a church almost entirely by his own labor without cost to the people whom he serves. Nor does he receive any salary.

TABLE VII. SALARIES OF MINISTERS PER MONTH

Ministers classified according to the type of church served	Total number of ministers	Total number of ministers reporting fixed salaries	Median salary	Lower quartile salary	Upper quartile salary	Average salary	Average salary paid per church
Rural churches only	90	85	$57.05	$32.49	$74.93	$57.72	$24.32
Urban churches only	15	12	89.95	49.95	104.98	75.61	56.71
Rural and urban churches	27	26	89.95	64.98	134.98	99.83	36.05
Urban churches of rural and urban pastors	27	26	49.95	24.48	74.48		50.99
Rural churches of rural and urban pastors	27	26	39.95	24.48	64.48		24.27

The median and average salaries of the different classes of ministers are shown in Table VII. The lowest average monthly salary paid per church is the $24.32 paid those ministers who serve rural churches only, and the largest is $56.71, or more than twice that amount, paid those ministers serving urban churches exclusively. The ministers serving rural and urban churches receive on the average from each church $36.05, or one-half as much again as those serving rural churches only. This difference, however, is due partly to larger salaries paid by the urban churches, and partly to the slightly larger number of churches pastored by this class of ministers. Pastors of rural churches only, serving on the average 2.4 churches, on the average of 1.5 Sundays each per month, with an average of 1422 members for all churches served, traveling on an average of 170.6 miles Sunday travel per month, receive a median wage of $57.05 per month. The average monthly cost of travel, $6.99, deducted leaves $50.06 as the median wage.

Pastors of urban churches only, serving on the average of 1.3 churches, on the average of 3.4 Sundays per month, with an average of 207.7 members for all churches served, traveling on an average of 48.6 miles Sunday travel per month, receive a median salary of $89.95, or $88.37 after the travel cost of $1.58 is deducted.

Pastors of rural and urban churches serving on the average of 2.7 churches, on the average of 1.7 Sundays each per month, with an average of 32.9 members for all churches served, traveling on an average of 190 miles Sunday travel per month, receive a median salary of $89.95, or $83.36 after deducting the

travel cost of $6.59.

Thus the median annual salary without deducting travel expenses incident to serving the churches is $684.60 for ministers serving rural churches only and $1,079.40 for the other two classes of ministers.

If the average salaries of the ministers were divided by the average number of members served, the members of the churches pastored by rural ministers would be contributing on an average less than fourteen cents per month toward the salary of their ministers; the members of churches served by ministers pastoring urban churches only would be contributing less than thirty-six and a half cents per month; and the members of churches served by ministers pastoring both rural and urban churches would be contributing less than nineteen cents per month. Since the minister's salary would hardly be less than one-half the total amount of money raised in the church, particularly the rural church, the doubling of these figures would appear to give a generous estimate of the total average contributions per member per month to the church, or 28 cents, 73 cents and 38 cents, respectively, or $3.36, $8.76 and $4.56 per year. According to the 1936 *Census of Religious Bodies* the average contribution of each member to the church in the State for that year was $4.79.[5] It is arrived at by dividing the total expenditures by the total number of members. This figure is not wholly accurate since 40% of the 1,783 churches did not report expenditures. These figures seem to indicate that the average church member contributes very little money toward the maintainenance of the minister and his church. The average contribution, however, may not be too significant since perhaps only half or less of the members really shoulder the responsibility of supporting the church.

A part of the minister's remuneration is the parsonage. Few rural churches provide parsonages for their ministers. Only 20 per cent of the 90 ministers serving rural churches only were provided with a furnished or an unfurnished parsonage. (Table VIII.)

Of the ministers pastoring urban churches only, 33 per cent were provided with parsonages. Of the ministers pastoring rural and urban churches 18.5 per cent are provided with parsonages. If the individual churches providing parsonages are

[5] *Census of Religious Bodies, 1936*, I, 864 & 866.

TABLE VIII. PARSONAGES PROVIDED MINISTERS.

Ministers classified according to the type of church served	Total ministers reporting	Parsonages Provided		
		Furnished	Unfurnished	Boarding and lodging or partially furnished parsonage
Rural churches only	90	11	5	2
Urban churches only	15	3	2	—
Rural and urban churches	27	3	2	—

considered, the percentages for the first two classes of ministers would be 8.5 and 26 respectively. In general, such parsonages as are provided are of the same type and condition as the average home of the members, the value of which in 1940 was $853 for the rural-nonfarm and $692 for the rural-farm home.

The average value of the 241 parsonages reported in the State in 1936 was $2,609, but this value reflects the concentration of parsonages in cities as there are very few in the rural areas.[6]

Some ministers, of course, receive gifts from their churches at Christmas or on some other occasion and are often given produce from the farms of their members, but these can not be depended upon. They are simply the tangible expressions of the goodwill of the people, and the people can give these things only as they have them to give.

Factors Affecting the Salaries of Ministers

The factors affecting the size of the ministers' salaries are numerous and form somewhat different configurations from church to church, and from one area of the state to another. Among those factors are: (1) the low income of the people; (2) the size of the congregation; (3) the financial demands made upon the people for the support of, or for participation in, other institutions, as for example, the necessity for parents in many rural communities to pay for the transportation of their children to the public schools, buy school books and to aid in financing the construction of school buildings, or furnishing of such schools; (4) the amount and quality of the services rendered by the pastor; (5) the attitude of the people toward the minister; (6) the traditional views about paying pastors—some people taking the view that ministers should "not preach for money"; (7) the supply of and the demand for ministers; and (8) competition among ministers for churches. How a traditional pattern of salary came to be formed in one county is told by a minister-teacher in these words: "The ministers who preach from one to two Sundays at each church per month receive from six to twenty dollars per Sunday. Only one church pays twenty dollars. Most of them pay from eight to ten dollars per Sunday. The older ministers, who served many of the churches for long periods, did not require or demand much in salary as most of them also farmed; hence, now many churches do not feel that it is right to pay ministers the amount of salary that in many places is accepted as reasonable."

Result of Low Salaries

In addition to those results that low and inadequate income brings to all persons in that category in terms of inadequate food, housing, clothing, medical care, education, recreation, travel and the like, the ministers generally seek ways of increasing their income which frequently are not helpful to their churches nor to the cause

[6] *Ibid*, p. 866.

which they represent. Within the church, for example, he may seek and use methods of money raising, which though from a short-term point of view may be effective, from the long term point of view may tend to disintegrate and to disorganize the life and spirit of the church, not to speak of the effect upon his own spirit. Some indication of this is seen in the tendency for many people to complain that the minister or the church is always begging for money, and in some cases to interpret the minister's every act as being directed toward money getting.

Low salaries mean, too, that the average rural minister is hardly able to accumulate savings for a rainy day, for retirement or for his widow and children at his death. Since the churches in general lack a pension or retirement system, the minister is often left stranded in old age or his family is left to shift for themselves. For example, consider the minister who had pastored seven rural churches concurrently for ten years prior to his death two years ago at the age of 54. In order to earn sufficiently for his family he also sold insurance. When he died he had no reserve and his widow has received only a total of about thirty-two dollars from the seven churches since her husband's death.

Outside the church or churches pastored, the minister may seek to increase his income by taking on another church to pastor, in which case he may find it necessary to get his people to change their hour of service or make some other arrangement that will enable him to serve the newly added church. Or, as is common, the minister and/or his wife may engage in some sort of employment during the week, which employment while helping to solve the problem of income may adversely affect his church work from the standpoint of time and energy expended in the secular employment.

Of the 90 ministers pastoring rural churches only (78 of whom were married) 75.6 per cent had other employment, and 27 per cent of their wives were employed outside of their homes. Of the 15 urban pastors (14 of whom were married), 35.7 per cent had other employment, as had 43 per cent of their wives. Of the 27 pastors of rural and urban churches (26 of whom were married), 46 per cent had other employment, as had 42 per cent of their wives. (Table IX.)

TABLE IX. SECULAR EMPLOYMENT OF MINISTERS AND WIVES.

Ministers classified according to the type of church served	Total number of ministers	Number employed			
		Ministers			Wives
		Total	Self-employed	Employed by others	Outside of home
Rural Churches only	90	59	24	35	21
Urban churches only	15	5	3	2	6
Rural and urban churches	27	12	4	8	11

There were twenty different types of occupations or activities in which the ministers were engaged. Farming and teaching are the occupations most frequently followed. Twenty-seven per cent of the employed pastors of rural churches only were farmers and 27 per cent were teachers. Each of the following occupations and activities accounted for little over 5 per cent of the 59 employed: insurance agent, student, public worker, carpenter, janitor, factory worker. There was one printer, a plumber, a secretary, an editor, a messenger, a barber and a cobbler. Of the five employed pastors of urban churches only, there were two teachers, two farmers and one barber.

Of the twelve employed pastors of rural and urban churches, there were three farmers, five teachers, one insurance agent, two public workers, and one auto mechanic.

Of the nine ministers without churches, three were in some kind of religious work and the remainder scattered through the above-named occupations.

Twenty of the ministers claimed their employment was an aid to their ministry; four thought their employment was both an aid and a handicap; whereas 14 thought their employment was a definite handicap. Two of the 15 pastors of urban churches thought their employment was an aid to their ministry and two thought it a handicap. Six of the 27 pastors of rural and urban churches thought their employment an aid and three a handicap to their ministry. The typical views expressed are recorded in their own words below:

Aids

Teacher—serves a rural church churches two Sundays per month. "This occupation keeps me in touch with the youth viewpoint."

Public worker—serves one rural and one urban church, the former one Sunday a month, the latter three Sundays per month. "It helps to make an adequate salary."

Farmer—serves two rural churches, one of them one Sunday and the other three Sundays per month. "It lessens the financial burden."

Teacher—serves a rural church two Sundays and an urban church one Sunday per month. "It helps to tie the community to the church."

Teacher—serves a rural church one and an urban church one Sunday per month. "It aids in that I teach where I live and am able to be more independent."

Teacher and printer—serves one rural and one urban church one Sunday per month. "It aids in that it fits in the community work."

Barber—serves one urban church every Sunday. "I am able to do more for my church at less cost."

Aids and Handicaps

Insurance agent—serves two rural churches two Sundays per month each. "It both aids and handicaps. It aids by close contacts with all types of people and homes. It handicaps because of too much work, physically and mentally."

Upholsterer—serves one rural church two Sundays per month. "It is quite hard to explain, it does both."

Barber—pastors one urban church every Sunday. "I am able to do more for my church at less cost."

Seminary Student—serves one urban and one rural church two Sundays each month. "Keeps me away from the people but helps me to do better work."

Machine Operator—serves one rural church two Sundays per month. "Aids financially but does handicap best work."

Factory Worker—serves two rural churches one Sunday each per month. "The job provides a living which the churches cannot. When working at night it was a great handicap because I coud not attend church meetings. Church meetings have to be held in the evening or at night."

Handicaps

Cement finisher and plumber — serves two rural churches, one of them one Sunday and the other, two Sundays per month. "I don't have time to study the best for my people."

Farmer and timberman—serves three rural churches two Sundays each per month. "It takes some of the time that should be given to study."

Teacher—serves one urban church and one rural church one Sunday a month. "There are times in which I am over-worked in both teaching and preaching, and the best work isn't done."

Teacher—serves two rural churches two Sundays each per month. "It cuts the time that might be used in pastoral visitation."

Porter—serves one rural church two Sundays per month. "It handicaps to this extent—I am kept at it all day and do not have the chance to attend conferences, associations, etc."

Teacher—serves two rural churches, one two Sundays and the other one Sunday per month. "I could do a better job if I had not this to do."

Teacher—serves two churches one Sunday, and one church two Sundays per month. "This handicaps because of little time to do church work."

Thus it appears that whereas employment of the minister outside of his church work may aid him financially and in some instances this income is essential to his serving the church at all, and whereas this employment gives him contact and acquaintance with the people, it is nevertheless a handicap of no mean significance for many. The minister is often physically and mentally overworked, having little energy for his ministry; the work consumes so much of his time that he is unable to study or to prepare himself properly for the service of his people or to look after their interests; pastoral visitation suffers; he is frequently unable to attend church conferences and professional meetings and there is a temptation for the minister to give the greater service and devotion to the outside employment from which he receives the greater portion of his income. If he is conscientious, he is torn between the just claims of

the two vocations upon him. It would seem, then, that if the salaries of the ministers could be raised to the point sufficient for their proper support, they would not need to engage in other employment in order to have intimate contact with their people, for the release from this employment would give them the time to make these contacts.

Notes

Edited By Paul H. Landis

OPERATION PUBLIC WELFARE NO. 2—THE NATURE OF THE RURAL MAN

(A study of psychological, physical, interest and value traits of rural peoples from the point of view of reorientation of agrarian policy to fit the basic human resources found in the country.)

Preamble

(1) Observation and common sense tell us that the rural man is of many types and interests. While our agrarian regions tend to differ considerably from each other in the type of rural man they produce and retain, there are also profound variations within regions and communities. Distributions and differences in earning capacity and ability or interest in improving living conditions are as great within the community as they are within regions or from one region to another.

(2) A sound agrarian policy has to (or should, if we plan the permanent habitation of this globe) consider the problems of best long-time uses of soil, timber, and water. Further, from the farmer's point of view (as well as that of the nation) the economic adjustments necessary to a high commercial income are essential. Since agriculture is the most "dangerous" business, proper development of supplementary income in kind is paramount.

(3) All of the points above involve a teaching or educational policy of a most complicated nature. Contrary to "educational" policy now considered sound, we do not know the fundamental facts about our students. We do not know what types of men are developed in and attracted by rural life. We are trying to make "every man a king" without knowing whether he can or wishes to be a king.

(4) The problem of creating the successful agriculturist is the most difficult educationally of any facing our society. In spite of the talk about the advantages of "bigness" in business, agriculture seems inherently primarily a collection of small business units. While some concentrated special crop regions have turned into "factories in the fields," we still see most of our agrarian units remaining the family type. This probably is inherent in the very nature of rural environment and agricultural production processes. The reasons for this permanent domination of agriculture by small business and family economic units can not be discussed here.

(5) Small business requires that judgments be made on complicated issues by many millions of family groups rather than by a few well informed corporate boards. Our statistics on business failures show us that these are related to the size of business units and to the economic complexity of the processes involved. Business failures are most frequent proportionately in small units trying to adapt to complicated problems.

(6) Agricultural "failures" are not measured by retirements from business. Rather they manifest themselves in the continuation of these same units but operated on a less efficient scale both economically and socially. What the failing farmer can not get from his economic activities he takes from the soil or from his standard of living.

(7) The proposal inherent in this study is that we take a national inventory of the "nature of the rural man." Then we could adapt our agrarian policies seeking to achieve the ends enumerated in paragraph (2) above by revising those policies or by increasing or adding others to them so as to enable each segment or regional part of our body of rural men to go as far and as rapidly as possible toward sound agrarianism.

Procedure

(8) The interests involved in such a study and inventory are agricultural, physical anthropological, psychological, sociological, and economic.

(9) The agricultural interest would operate to see that the regions of America are properly inventoried according to type of farming, crop, and production areas and the regional needs of the country. This is not entirely a breaking up of the country into the former regions seeking to evaluate matters as they have stood traditionally. At the present time due to the increasing revolution in agrarian processes, regions not now dominant in a given phase of production offer hopes for the future (and problems) which should be studied beforehand. The inventory of these regions should be in terms of the type of agrarian man now available and the probable needs in the future. (See Melvin T. Copeland, *A Raw Commodity Revolution*, 1938.)

(10) Recent work among the physical anthropologists has shown that not only are there distinct physical types of men but that these somatic differences are associated with different types of temperament. To date, their conclusions state this without proof that types of men make fundamental differences in either actual achievement or in potentialities. The lack of complete verification does not invalidate these tentative conclusions. In the proposed study types of men—as measured by physique, blood type, metabolism, and general health—should be related to types of farming and combinations of market, subsistence, and "off-the-farm" work for income.

We see the enormous variation in agriculture both in practice and in success at any activity. Part of the variation may be due to experimental attempts by men to gain experience and thereby find what they can do best. Part of this, moreover, may be due to the activities of rural men in their search for the combination of activities which will best utilize their time. Another part may be due to the physical-temperamental variations found among rural people. The point as to physical-temperamental types must be either proved or disproved in our attempt to get on with the development of the total of rural life. (See W. H. Sheldon, *Varieties of Human Physique*, Harpers, 1940; *Varieties of Human Temperament*, Harpers, 1942; E. A. Hooten, *Young Man, You Are Normal*, G. P. Putnam, 1945; Clark Heath, *What People Are*, Harvard Univ. Press, 1945.)

(11) The psychological interest arises from the conception of types of personality. This goes back to the contention of Spranger that men differ in personality according to the emphasis they give to six basic interests—theoretical, economic, esthetic, social, political, and religious. In recent years, Gordon W. Allport and Philip E. Vernon have developed a scale for measuring the dominant interests in personality. This has been standardized for use among urban, highly literate people and has been given considerable use. (See Elizabeth Duffy, "A Critical Review of Investigations Employing the Allport-Vernon Study of Values," *Psychological Bulletin*, 1940, 37: 597-612.) It can be adapted for use with the rural men by the proper psychologist who will not strangle himself in methodology to the exclusion of approaching the objective. We want to know the personality interest of various types of rural people by region. To a considerable extent much of modern agrarian improvement to this date has been self-destructive. It has emphasized the economic personality of the farmer to the exclusion of all others. Following traditional American patterns he has "'succeeded" himself out of agriculture in one generation. The short-lived occupation of American farms by the same family is notorious—and closely related to misuse of the soil and other resources. Possibly we should be developing an "all-purpose" agrarian-interest man-animal for the future. We can neglect but can not avoid Elmer Peterson's *Forward to the Land* or the contention of Louis Bromfield's *Points of View* that in the more developed districts of Europe a poor farmer is a rarity.

(12) The sociological interest should emphasize the rounded nature of the inventory. This applies to the farmer, the community and the total rural social classes. The farmer himself has to be evaluated from his capacity to fulfill all interests of rural life. Within the community there are men who vary in every activity necessary to a permanent and successful agriculture. In different regions there are combinations of these factors. Success will have to be measured in various ways—cash income, real income, sustained income, living conditions, treatment of natural resources, and outlook on life. In spite of all contentions that a rural ten per cent can feed an urban ninety, there are still 65,000,000 people in villages, rural-non-farm, and farm groups. We have to predict that now in the development of the atomic age, the era of the country is not over. In many respects it is just beginning to see its potentialities. In many states of the Union there are now more non-farm people on the land than farmers. These small-scale mixed urban-agriculturalists are going to have to be fitted somewhere into our agrarian planning.

(13) The economic interest should look at this study or inventory as an approach to the broadening of the traditional objectives of agricultural economics and also to a more satisfactory method of achieving the old objectives of developing the better farmers on better farms. A rationalizing of the educational process in agriculture should increase the adaptation of all classes in agriculture. This includes the successful business-farmer as well as others. Presumably, if there are different types of men in agriculture, a knowledge of these types and their possibilities should enable us to help each type do better what it can or wants to do best.

Organizations and Results

(14) This project should be organized under a policy study committee. As the different questionnaires, schedules, and forms are developed they should be used for the collection of data. Evaluation will require some time but the study is not topheavy. Neither is it impossible of achievement. That it has a basis in fact and will win public support is evidenced by the recent contrasting studies of capitalistic and family farming California communities.

(15) A sideline of the project would be standard tests to be used in the future in resettlement communities and in picking candidates for newly opened lands. However, the main aim of the study is to outline the nature of the rural man and place this knowledge against the economic and physical needs in modern agriculture. The committee should seek to be a National (Rural-Human) Resources Committee.[1]

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[1] General Bibliography: Carle C. Zimmerman, *Outline of American Regional Sociology* (Cambridge Phillips Book Store, 1947).

PATTERNS OF FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS IN FIFTY FARM FAMILIES

The choice of commodities and services through which individuals and families everywhere fulfill their wants is influenced by many factors. Important among these are style, price, income, custom, and the types of goods available. The degree of satisfaction already realized and the extent to which security is felt with respect to the family's position in the community also have an influence. They way in which the family makes its choices, defines its goals and builds up attitudes toward these, helps to determine the satisfactions obtained from the use of the chosen commodities and services. A recent study[1] of the use of the goods by a group of fifty farm famiiles in a prosperous community in Illinois reveals something of the nature of the relationships which prevail within those families and

[1] Fitzsimmons and Perkins, "Pattern of Consumption of Fifty Farm Families." Unpublished. Dept. of Home Economics, University of Illinois.

how these in turn affect their satisfactions in the use of goods.

The Families

These are happy and successful families. The marriages are well established, averaging 23 years duration. The women average 46 years of age and the men, 48. The couples have a distinctly rural background in common and average 23.4 years sharing the same farm and community experience. Sixty-six per cent owned their own farms and the rest were non-owners. Two-thirds of the families are prosperous enough to be able to exercise choice in their selection of goods.

Attitudes and Activities

The outstanding characteristics of these families are the love of the land with its way of life, and the closeness with which they work, play, and plan together. Close companionship with the husbands and playing an important role in the partnership of earning a living and bringing up a family were stated as major satisfactions by the majority of the women in the group. Seventy per cent of them thoroughly enjoy living on a farm and like their work. Thirty-two per cent of the men like to farm and have never considered doing anything else. Another 54% like farming but at some time considered other occupations, all of which however, were related to farming such as cattle breeding or retailing farm machinery.

Forty-eight per cent of the families are saving to pay for or have recently finished paying for the farm. This was truly a joint project since the wives had a part in the plans and were as much interested as their husbands in making ownership possible. In 40% of the families the wives help plan the farm business. Among non-owners, the husbands decide when to borrow money but among owners only 40% of the husbands decide alone with the husband and wife always deciding together in a second 40%. In both groups the husbands decide upon the amount of life insurance but the wives help arrive at the amount of the insurance carried on the furniture.

Teamwork is evident. Each member may have certain responsibilities but the family works as a group for attainment of goals. Women and the children, as soon as they are old enough, participate in decisions, contribute to the plans and take pride in the final results. A democratic spirit seems to prevail. For example—money management is a shared activity in the sense that the husband and wife divide responsibilities, each taking the lead in particular aspects of management and expenditures. A joint checking account is the usual arrangement but where this is not the case, the wife generally has access to the bank account. The husband and wife share the responsibility of paying the bills and together decide upon gifts to the church and Red Cross. The woman buys her own clothes, the husband's work clothes and the younger children's clothing. The husband buys his better wearing apparel and with the wife helps the older children buy their clothes. School children are usually given an allowance. High school age youngsters are frequently paid for regular work performed on the farm. It is customary for the children to decide how their money is to be spent although they may consult one or both parents.

Among tasks frequently performed, the chores, vegetable gardening and care of chickens are often shared by several members of the family. A division of labor seems to have been developed for most of the other work. Each person performs his assigned or chosen operation, a specific part of a large task, e.g., the husband milks, the wife cares for the separator; the older sons care for the stock and the older daughters help with the little children and certain parts of the housework.

In the area of play, the major recreation is of family type and shared. The parents tend to do what the children want and with the exception of reading materials most of the provisions for recreation are of the type interesting to children and young people. Table games, sports equipment, croquet sets, picnic stoves, tables and benches were listed by most of the families.

As a group the women are excellent managers. Seventy-five per cent work easily and efficiently, 60% rating decidedly above average for standards of cleanliness and 78% for standards of orderliness (based on scores obtained on a scale designed to measure the housekeeping standards and practices), 70% were enthusiastic about their work and thoroughly enjoyed all aspects of homemaking.

Definitely expressed goals indicated love for the farm and life in the country. Seventy-eight per cent repeatedly refer to the "good life in the country," (freedom, independence and space) and make much of either owning or hoping to own their land. They definitely want to be able to retire in the country. Eighty-eight per cent of the husbands and wives act together for the common goal and in 84% there is no conflict in regard to the goal or its accomplishment. In 48% of the families neither spouse dominates but husband manages and decides on farm finances; the wife dominates in the house and with the children. While there are 15 instances of husband and 5 of wife dominance (all apparently without conflict) in every instance the dominant member was acceded to be a good manager and no one resented the dominance. Outstandingly wholesome relationships were present in 50% of the families where respect for the opinions and abilities to manage or carry through respective assignments were apparent even to the casual observer bearing out the cooperator's statements to the field worker.

In regard to the children there was agreement between parents on ambition and plans (college education and continuing on the farm) in 57% of the families; on the discipline, in 31% (in another 40% the mother does all the disciplining but there is no opposition from the father). The physical care of the children is left entirely to the mothers, with the fathers reported as not interfering.

With 2 exceptions all of the couples wanted children. All but 8 had families and 6 of these childless couples had either adopted children or taken relatives' children to bring up as their own.

The overwhelming majority of the wives (90%) gave as their goals the care and education of their children, a happy home life and owning the farm, (26% received their greatest satisfaction from their children, 24% from the "children and home", 20% from life on a farm, "our way of life," and 8% from "good husbands.")

Both the husband and wife in 88% of the families were working together for common goals (education and welfare of children and good farming) and showed stability of purpose. Long time planning in both of these areas is the common practice in this group of families.

Family cohesion is also strong, including loyalty to parents and collaterals as well as to their own children. Twenty-eight per cent have relatives of one or the other or both with them (78% are parents, the others are nieces and nephews whose parents have died and were taken in as "own" children). Where physically able these members share work and join in the family recreation but where incapaciated either by age or poor health or—in case of nieces and nephews—too young, they are cared for and loved as one of the immediate family. There appeared to be very little friction or discontent in the household because of the presence of these persons.

The Pattern of Family Relationship

As a group (1) these families believe in what they are doing and like doing it; (2) they share in planning and management; (3) they have been successful (as families and as economic groups) and expect to continue their success; (4) where improvement in condition of living is desired they have accepted the responsibility for bringing this about; (5) they know what they want and have made plans to get it. (6) Children are desired and (7) there is marked family cohesiveness even between immediate families and relatives who have been accepted as a part of the household. (8) In management of finances, in planning the work indoors and out, in provisions for recreation, co-

operation and teamwork predominate.

These families have certain basic essentials—good equipment and a spirit of cooperation—which facilitate conditions of working; they are in a position to achieve their goals and have some time to do things they enjoy doing. They are happy in their homes and ambitious for their children within the limits of their ability to achieve those ambitions. Composed as this pattern is—largely of practices and attitudes—it still is an important segment of the consumption pattern for the group of families.

A pattern is significant because it indicates the way of living considered desirable by individuals or a group of individuals. Many types of goods are used together and various attitudes and forms or practices are associated with their use. These together comprise an all-inclusive pattern. Within it a specific pattern and practice is discernible.

The larger the proportion of the families in a community or group in agreement in the use of a good or a practice or of combinations of goods and practices, the more important each becomes in the group pattern. In this study an item or a practice must have been used and followed by more than half of the cooperating families to be regarded as a part of the pattern. Parts of the all-inclusive pattern noted in this study are the house, its furnishings and equipment, food, clothing, recreation and community activity, and family relationships. Each of these is reported in a separate article, all of which should be read to get a more adequate picture of the use of goods by these families.

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A METHOD FOR DETERMINING SUCCESSION IN LAND OWNERSHIP

An effort to measure the extent to which families have persisted on the land or have relinquished control to other families has been attempted in Shelby County, Missouri, by an analysis of the family surnames recorded among owners in four selected years during the period of a complete century.

Names and exact location of landowners were available for the years 1840,[1] 1878,[2] 1902,[3] and 1940.[4] The number of different surnames present for any sample year, the frequency of occurrence of each surname, and the occurrence or absence of these surnames at subsequent years were indicated. Thus, in 1840 there were 108 surnames represented among landowners, 81 of which occurred once, 21 of which occurred two times in the county, etc. By 1878 thirty of the original listing of surnames had disappeared, and by 1940 forty-four surnames had disappeared. In 1940, of the 64 original surnames remaining, 24 were present only once, 13 twice, etc. (See Table I.)

Similar procedure was employed in determining the extent to which surnames appearing for the first time in 1878, 1902, and 1940 were represented in subsequent years for which listings were made, and the frequency of appearance of each surname. In 1878 there were 905 surnames among landowners which had not been listed in 1840. In 1902 there were 478 surnames which had not appeared among the 1840 and 1878 listings of landowners. And, finally, in 1940 there were 292 surnames which had not appeared in the three previous listings. A summary of the analysis is presented in Table II.

Among the surnames represented in the 1840 listing, 59 per cent were still represented among the landowners of Shelby County in 1940. Of the surnames represented for the first time in 1878 and 1902, thirty-four per cent and thirty-five per cent, respectively, were among the landowners who maintained control of the land in 1940.

Such a method has obvious shortcomings.

TABLE I. NUMBER OF SURNAMES REPRESENTED AMONG LAND OWNERS IN 1840, CLASSIFIED BY THEIR FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE IN 1840, 1878, 1902, AND 1940, SHELBY COUNTY, MISSOURI.

Frequency of Occurrence	Year			
	1840	1878	1902	1940
Total	108	108	108	108
0	—	30	33	44
1	81	19	20	24
2	21	19	17	13
3	5	16	13	8
4	1	7	9	3
5 & Over	0	17	16	16

[1] National Historical Society, *History of Monroe and Shelby Counties* (St. Louis, 1884), Ch. III.
[2] Edwards Brothers of Missouri, *Historical Atlas of Shelby County, Missouri* (Philadelphia, 1878).
[3] George A. Ogle, *Standard Atlas of Shelby County* (Chicago, 1902).
[4] WPA platt map obtained at Shelby County Courthouse.

First, where land ownership has been transmitted through the line of the married female and not through the male line, the surname will have disappeared, while in reality, the control may not have been transferred from the family. Such a method likewise fails to portray the complete picture of succession in land ownership, since persons with surnames not mentioned in the four sample years may have owned land and relinquished ownership in the period intervening between the years for which listings were made. Such persons would, thus, have been omitted from the analysis. Furthermore, for this analysis, owners with the same surnames were assumed to be members of the same family line. Undoubtedly exceptions to this assumption have occurred.

Despite its shortcomings, it is felt that such a method provides a useful point of departure for the understanding of the stability of successive groups which have controlled the land, and may be particularly worthwhile when used in conjunction with historical and census materials.

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TABLE II. ANALYSIS OF CHANGES OCCURRING IN NUMBER OF SURNAMES OF LAND-OWNERS OF SHELBY COUNTY, 1840, 1878, 1902 AND 1940.

Date of Count	1840 List		1878 List		1902 List		1940 List	
	Cumulative Number		Cumulative Number		Cumulative Number		Cumulative Number	
	Dropped	Remaining	Dropped	Remaining	Dropped	Remaining	Dropped	Remaining
1840	——	108	——	——	——	——	——	——
1878	30	78	——	905	——	——	——	——
1902	33	75	454	451	——	478	——	——
1940	44	64	597	308	310	168	——	292

CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

Edited by Walter C. McKain, Jr.†

Studies of Suburbanization

During the past fifteen years rural sociologists have devoted increasing attention to the process of suburbanization. The economic depression of the early 1930's served to focus the spotlight on farming areas adjacent to the larger cities as a means of providing opportunity for the industrial worker to earn a part of his living from the land and thus supplement his urban employment, or lack of it, with a family garden, a few chickens and with fuel for cooking and for heating the family home. Modern transportation had developed to the extent that it was feasible for workers to live in the country and commute daily to work in the city. Social scientists began to reflect upon the fact that part-time farming was an old phenomenon in New England as well as in certain other areas of the United States and began to explore its possibilities as a way of relieving the distressed conditions of unemployment in the cities. Rozman had made a study of part-time farming in Massachusetts[1] in 1930 and soon studies began to appear in New York,[2] California,[3] Connecticut,[4] Kentucky,[5] Washington,[6] Iowa,[7] and elsewhere.

In 1934 Cornell published a bulletin on rural homes of city workers in Monroe County in the vicinity of Rochester, New York.[8] The emphasis of this study was on housing, although numerous aspects of commuting were also considered. Connecticut published a series of three studies of suburbanization. These appeared from 1936 to 1939.[9] They were designed to describe and analyze the social and economic effects of suburbanization on three different types of communities situated in three different sections of the state of Connecticut.

In 1942 Rhode Island published a study entitled, *Land, People, and Farming in a Rurban Zone.*[10] This was concerned with two towns in Rhode Island and attempted to measure the extent to which rural community life is modified by the dominance of nearby cities. During the same year Wash-

† Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.

[1] Rozman, David. *Part-Time Farming in Massachusetts,* Massachusetts Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 266, 1930.

[2] Hood, Kenneth. *Some Preliminary Results of a Study of Part-Time Farms in Chemung and Tompkins County, New York, 1932.* New York State College of Agriculture, Dept. of Agr. Econ. Mimeo. Rept. pp. 1-33, 1933.

[3] Adams, R. L., and Wann, J. L. *Part-Time Farming for Income.* Bulletin 581, University of California, 1934.

[4] Davis, I. G., and Salter, L. A., Jr. *Part-Time Farming in Connecticut—A Preliminary Survey.* Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 201, 1935.

[5] Oyler, M., and Rose, W. W. *Part-Time Farming in Four Representative Areas of Kentucky.* Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 358, 1935.

[6] Pubols, B. H. *Part-Time Farming in Washington.* Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 316, 1935.

[7] Wakeley, Ray E. *Part-Time and Garden Farming in Iowa.* Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 340, 1935.

[8] Tate, Leland B. *The Rural Homes of City Workers and the Urban-Rural Migration.* Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 595, 1934.

[9] Whetten, N. L., and Devereux, E. C., Jr. *Studies of Suburbanization in Connecticut—1. Windsor: A Highly Developed Agricultural Area.* Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 212, 1936.

Whetten, N. L., and Field, R. F. *Studies of Suburbanization in Connecticut—2. Norwich: An Industrial Part-Time Farming Area.* Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 226, 1938.

Whetten, N. L. *Studies of Suburbanization in Connecticut—3. Wilton: A Rural Town Near Metropolitan New York.* Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 230, 1939.

[10] Gordon, William R., and Meldrum, Gilbert S. *Land, People, and Farming in a Rurban Zone.* Rhode Island Agricultural Experiment Station and Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Dept. of Agr. cooperating, Bulletin 285, 1942.

ington State published a study called, *Back to the Country — The Rurban Trend in Washington's Population.*[11] This was a study of the rural population living outside of incorporated towns but not on farms.

The two most recent studies in this field are *Suburbanization in Webster, New York* by Koos and Brunner[12] and *Social Aspects to Land Use Planning in the Country-City Frange: The Case of Flint, Michigan* by Walter Firey.[13] The Webster study is published by the Department of Sociology at the University of Rochester and contains a preface by the President of the University. Dr. Brunner serves as "guest researcher." The study is patterned after the Connecticut studies and seeks to test the findings in another area. The authors say: "Despite the interest in the subject, and the number of studies that have been made of certain aspects of the problem of suburbanization, few studies have been made which deal with the problem as it concerns any one community. So far as is known, the Connecticut State College *Studies of Suburbanization in Connecticut* are the only formal contributions to a better understanding of the social and economic adjustments which attend suburbanization of particular communities. As suburbanization increases, and it seems likely to, the need for knowledge of these adjustments will become greater. The present study, with its locale quite different from that of the Connecticut *Studies*, is bound to highlight new facets of the whole problem."[14] The study was set up in such a manner as to make it directly comparable with the Connecticut studies. A survey was made with a standardized schedule of every household in Webster in 1944 and this survey, supplemented by extended interviews, forms the basis of the report. As in Connecticut, they found rapid growth in the suburban area as compared with the city; that many families moved to the area from Rochester during the young child stage of family life; that many were white-collared and skilled workers and commuted to work in the city; that there is a division of interests between Webster and Rochester and that conflicting interests developed between older residents and newcomers. They stress the following practical findings: (1) There is real need for consciously developed understanding between the newcomers and the indigenous groups. (2) There is real need for realization that the present, and natural, lack of assimilation of the inmigrants is the responsibility of not one but all of the constituent groups of the community. (3) Webster has need for some form of community organization, representing all social organizations in the town.

Walter Firey's study is concerned with the problems of land use in the city-country fringe of Flint, Michigan. The study seeks to relate these problems to the attitudes and group activities of people living in the fringe neighborhoods. Three differing neighborhoods were selected for study and, within these, usable interviews were held with 84 persons during the summer of 1945. The author concludes that neighborhoods around the fringe vary greatly from one to another but that there are many similarities in their social characteristics. Among these are "(a) a high rate of population turnover, (b) a high rate of home ownership; (c) a high proportion of young adults having many children; (d) a heavy dependence upon industrial shop work in the city; (e) inadequate social life and organizational facilities for the people; and (f) part-time farming or gardening on the part of most families."[15] He also concludes that the fringe area is a problem area for the following

[11] Reuss, Carl F. *Back to the Country—The Rurban Trend in Washington's Population.* State College of Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Bul. 426, 1942.

[12] Koos, E. L., and Brunner, E. deS. *Suburbanization in Webster, New York.* Dept. of Sociology, University of Rochester, No. 1 of the studies of Metropolitan Rochester, 1945.

[13] Firey, Walter. *Social Aspects to Land Use Planning in the Country-City Fringe: The Case of Flint, Michigan.* Michigan State College Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 339, 1946.

[14] Koos, E. L., and Brunner, E deS. *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 9.

[15] Firey, Walter, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

reasons: "(a) It removes land from agricultural productivity; (b) platting becomes unguided, uncoordinated, and generally in excess of effective demand, thus creating vast tracts of idle land, irregular settlement patterns, and tax delinquent holdings; (c) taxes must increase in order to maintain the services necessary in such densely populated settlements; but such taxes commonly exceed the tax-paying capacity of both farmers and shop workers; (d) unregulated platting frequently permits tracts to be subdivided with no deed restrictions, thereby ruining adjacent subdivisions that may have started under high deed restrictions; (e) fringe dwellers are frequently ill-prepared and ill-informed about buying land, getting implements, and cultivating gardens; (f) the fringe area boosts land values to the point at which it no longer pays to continue agricultural operations."[16]

From these various studies it would appear that suburbanization is an important field for research. It is a two-way process which results in the blending of rural and urban cultures. It involves not only migration of urban people away from the city but also movement of rural people from more remote rural areas toward the city.[17] Rural people in the fringe area tend to acquire urban attitudes, values, and customs; at the same time the newcomers from the city tend to become somewhat ruralized in that they learn something about gardening or part-time farming, and become accustomed to the social environment of the small community. The suburban area offers a kind of preview of what is likely to happen in the future in many parts of the United States if urbanization continues to dissolve the barriers which have tended to separate rural from urban life in the past. Many of the rural-urban problems which may arise in the future are probably present now, in some form or other, in the suburban area. These need to be delineated and studied carefully by students of the social sciences.

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[16] Firey, Walter, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[17] See Myles W. Rodehaver. "Fringe Settlement as a Two-Directional Movement" in *Rural Sociology*, March 1947, pp. 49-57.

Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility*

I. Differential Fertility Among 41,498 Native White Couples in Indianapolis.

II. Variations in the Size of Completed Families of 6,551 Native White Couples in Indianapolis.

III. The Completeness and Accuracy of the Household Survey of Indianapolis.

IV. Developing the Schedules and Choosing the Type of Couples and the Area to be Studied.

V. The Sampling Plan, Selection, and the Representativeness of Couples in the Inflated Sample.

VI. The Planning of Fertility.

There has been growing awareness among population students of the need to determine the human or personal factors that influence the size of families and the composition of the population. The series of reports on social and psychological factors affecting fertility promises to provide much of the exploratory work for a new field—the psychology of human fertility. When completed, the reports should provide at least part of the data required for a well-rounded policy based on facts, not speculation.

The reports thus far issued cover three general topics: (a) differential fertility by

* P. K. Whelpton and Clyde V. Kiser, Millbank Memorial Fund.

social and economic classes; (b) patterns of errors of response and biases encountered in population enumerations in respect to characteristics like age and educational attainment; and (c) the prevalence of fertility planning among native white Protestant urban couples. Only a few of the 175 questions asked in the intensive study have been utilized in the reports listed above. The best reports—those testing hypotheses on social and psychological factors influencing the number of children desired in planned families—are yet to come.

The data on differential fertility by social and economic class represent a welcome addition to our fund of knowledge, particularly in respect to fertility differentials by religion. They show that in Indianapolis the Catholic group was the only one with fertility approximating the self-sustaining level. These data were a by-product obtained in a preliminary survey of all Indianapolis native white couples with wife under 45 years of age, so that a small but homogenous group could be selected for more extensive study. Budgetary considerations limited the number of schedules that could be filled and the detailed nature of the questions made the choice of a homogeneous group essential for the small number of cases. The homogeneous group consists of native white Protestant couples, neither husband nor wife married more than once, both husband and wife with at least an eighth grade education, married in the period 1927 to 1929, husband under 40 and wife under 30 at marriage, who lived in a city of 25,000 inhabitants or more for at least 8 years following marriage. The group selected may be described as one that constitutes the vanguard of most other groups in respect to the planning of fertility. The study found that over 90 per cent of the group selected tried to control the number of their children and their spacing by means of contraception. Computations indicated that if fertility were left to nature, the number of pregnancies per couple probably would have been between 7.4 and 8.0, whereas the average for all couples was 2.3. Nearly three-fourths of the "relatively fecund" couples were successful in having just the number of children they wanted, while others in general had only one or two more children than they wanted.

A few minor criticism are in order. The reports thus far issued fail to give a list of 175 questions asked in the intensive study, although they do give a list of those asked in the preliminary survey and also a list of 23 hypotheses together with *numbers* of questions in the intensive study that are applicable to these hypotheses. Many readers would like to have the full set of questions. Secondly, the third report, on errors of response, might have included a brief explanation of the applicability of the findings of the Indianapolis study to other surveys. The main object of the third report is to show the reliability of the Indianapolis returns, but the general findings are also applicable to other population surveys and enumerations. However, the intensive Indianapolis study involves direct interviews exclusively. Errors would be expected to run heavier in general censuses where enumerators often obtain information from an intermediate respondent for persons not at home when the enumerator calls.

In conclusion, it might be pointed out anew that the field covered is virtually a virgin one. Studies such as those by Notestein, Stix, and Pearl are only remotely similar to the present series and deal not with representative elements of the population so much as with clinical cases (either mothers or sterile women), and contain little information on psychological factors, while studies such as Beebe's deal with women in areas where human fertility is atypically high and are concerned chiefly with the nonprevalence of contraceptive practices. The Milbank Memorial Fund, its Committee on Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility, and the authors, P. K. Welpton and C. V. Kiser, are to be congratulated for a most excellent job in a very difficult field. We await with interest the remaining reports.

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Publications Received

(*Indicates bulletins reviewed in this issue. Numbers appearing by each review refer to corresponding number in the list of publications.)

*1. Beers, Howard W. and Heflin, Catherine P. *People and resources in eastern Kentucky.* Ky. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 500. 59pp. Lexington, May, 1947.

*2. Botts, Ralph R. *Life insurance for farm families.* U. S. Dept. Agr. Misc. Pub. 621. 49 pp. Washington, D. C., Feb. 1947.

*3. Carter, Helen Spinney. *What becomes of the graduates of the small rural high school.* Vt. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 535. 19 pp. Burlington, Feb., 1947.

*4. Davies, Vernon. *Farm housing needs in Minnesota.* Minn. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 393. 20 pp. St. Paul, Mar. 1947.

5. Ducoff, Louis J. and Hagood, Margaret Jarman. *Farm and nonfarm wage income of the hired farm working force in 1946.* 22 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr., Washington, D. C., June, 1947.

6. Ducoff, Louis J. and Persh, Louis. *Wages and wage rates of harvesters of special crops in selected areas of 13 States, 1945. A statistical summary.* 108 pp. Surveys of Wages and Wage Rates in Agriculture, Report No. 17. Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr. Washington, D. C., Aug., 1946.

7. Federal Security Agency. U. S. Public Health Service. Div. of Hospital Facilities. *The hospital act and your community.* 14 pp. Washington, D. C., 1947.

*8. Felton, Ralph A. *The size of the rural parish.* 22 pp. 1946. *The church bus.* 21 pp. 1946. *Cooperative churches* 75 pp. 1947. Dept. of the Rural Church. Drew Theological Seminary. Madison, New Jersey.

9. Hagood, Margaret Jarman. *Farm operator family level of living indexes for counties of the United States, 1940 and 1945.* 42 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr. Washington, D. C., May, 1947.

10. Interagency Committee on Youth Employment and Education. *Education and employment opportunities for youth.* 30 pp. U. S. Children's Bur. Publ. 319. Div. of Labor Standards, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Washington, D. C., 1947.

*11. Leonard, Olen E. *Pichilingue. A study of rural life in coastal Ecuador.* 35 pp. Foreign Agr. Report No. 17. Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations,, U. S. Dept. Agr., Washington, D. C., Mar., 1947.

*12. Nelson, Lowry. *Farm retirement in Minnesota.* Minn. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 394. 20 pp. St. Paul, Mar., 1947.

*13. Peterson, Milo and Marshall, Douglas. *Are Minnesota's farm youth in school.* 9 pp. Paper No. 582. Misc. Journal Series. Agr. Expt. Sta. and Bur. of Educational Research, Univ. of Minn. St. Paul, Apr., 1947.

14. Reagan, Barbara B. and Ducoff, Louis J. *Perquisites furnished hired farm workers, United States and major regions, 1945.* 62 pp. Surveys of Wages and Wage Rates in Agriculture. Report No. 18. Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr. Washington, D. C., Dec., 1946.

*15. Senior, Clarence. *The Puerto Rican migrant in St. Croix.* 42 pp. Social Science Research Center. Univ. of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras, 1947.

16. Sitterley, J. H. and Falconer, J. I. *Change in size of farms in Ohio, 1900-1940.* Ohio Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 669. 21 pp. Wooster, Ohio, Jan., 1947.

17. United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. *World food survey.* 39 pp. Washington, D. C., July, 1946.

*18. U. S. Dept. Labor. Retraining and Reemployment Administration. *Migrant labor . . . a human problem.* 58 pp. Report and Recommendations. Federal Interagency Com. on Migrant Labor. Washington, D. C., Mar., 1947.

*19. Winston, Sanford. *Social aspects of public housing.* 44 pp. North Carolina

Council of Housing Authorities. Raleigh, 1947.

Rural Church

[8.] Drew Theological Seminary has published seven bulletins dealing with the rural church and several additional reports are in preparation. *Cooperative churches* contains an analysis of the union church (two denominations using the same building), the federated church (a united church that is maintained by two or more denominations), the yoked church (one pastor for two or more churches), the nondenominational community church, and the denominational community church. Several variations such as the allocated field and the mutual exchange of parishes are also examined. Part of the evidence submitted is statistical; part is based on church case histories. A practical guide for the operation and use of church buses is presented in *The church bus.* The extent to wihch church buses are used, the difficulties encountered and the success of the practice are outlined. Records from 19 Methodist conferences were examined for the years 1857, 1897, and 1937 and the findings given in *The size of the rural parish.* The results are related to changes in the mobility of the population.

Rural Youth

[3.] Mailed questionnaires were filled out and returned by 85 per cent of all living graduates of Bellows Free Academy, a high school located in Fairfax, Vermont. The vocational and residential adjustments of the graduates were analyzed. Roughly one-half of the respondents received advanced schooling and were using this additional training in their work. About a fourth had moved to urban areas of Vermont and another fourth lived in other States. More than a third remained in Fairfax or an adjoining town. The incidence of marriage was observed and it was discovered that most unmarried graduates remained in the vicinity of Fairfax.

[13.] A recent report shows by counties the percentage of Minnesota farm youth 16 and 17 years of age in school in 1940. Data were obtained from a special U. S. Census tabluation not appearing in the published Census volumes. In 1940 about 56 per cent of the farm boys and 37 per cent of the farm girls 16 and 17 years of age were not in school. Variations in school attendance were found between counties and between farm boys and girls in the same county. In general, the northeastern counties had the largest proportion of farm boys and girls in this age group in school, the central and western counties had the lowest. The better farming areas were not the areas with the highest school attendance. When the counties were ranked in order of school attendance of farm youth, most of the counties with the highest farm income and land values fell within the lowest ranking groups.

Farm Labor

[18.] The Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor has issued a report setting forth the problems of migrants with recommendations for their solution. It is estimated that there were about one million agricultural migrants in 1946. This includes single workers, household heads and members of their families who migrated and worked, also dependent members of their families who migrated but did not work. Recommendations include (1) community and employer acceptance of their obligations toward migrant workers; (2) improved practices in recruiting, transporting, and placing workers and in providing them with better housing, health, education, and welfare services; and (3) legislation—Federal, State, and local — to improve their working and living conditions.

The appendix contains suggestions for (1) the regulation of labor camps, (2) a labor camp code, and (3) a health services program for labor camp occupants. Also included are (1) a description of Federal housing facilities for migrants; (2) the residence requirements for legal settlement by States and for old-age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to dependent children; (3) a summary of State labor laws applicable to agricultural workers in October, 1946; and (4) the major differences between va-

rious contracts for foreign workers brought in for agricultural and industrial employment.

Population

[11.] A government hacienda on the coast of Ecuador was studied during March and April 1945 in order to secure information that would help agricultural technicians and other persons working in that area. Questionnaires were used in securing data from 81 households representing 425 people. About 15 or 20 households were not visited because of bad roads. Many racial elements make up the population, the most common being Chinese, Indian, Negro, and Caucasian. A large proportion of persons are in the productive age group, 15 to 45 years, with more males than females. The high infant mortality rate reflects the crowded living conditions, inadequate diet, and absence of health facilities. Family life is fairly stable in spite of the frequent lack of legal ties. The families are small but the size of the household depends upon the number of relatives (other than parents and children) and nonrelatives who live with the family.

The majority of the people are Catholic, but since the nearest church is six miles away, it is attended only occasionally. Illiteracy among the population 10 years of age and over is almost 50 per cent. The one school in the hacienda is poorly equipped, and in 1944-45 offered only two grades. Farm labor is the major occupation of the households with some workers giving part time to more skilled jobs around the hacienda. There are a number of farm owners in the area, most of them with small tracts. The prevalence of malaria accounts for much illness and loss of labor. Curative and preventive measures are lacking not only for malaria but also for diseases caused by intestinal parasites. The author says "The assumption of this study is that certain basic knowledge of a limited area and number of people can be gathered and analyzed and the results magnified in such a manner as to reveal a number of characteristics applicable to a much larger area than actually encompassed the observations."

[1.] Sociological factors in land use is the subject of *People and resources in eastern Kentucky*, one of a series of bulletins on forest and farm resources in the Breathitt area. Through interviews with 167 country and 171 town households, data were obtained on attitudes toward land use, economic and educational opportunities, and plans for the future as well as on family composition, occupation, housing, etc. The area is experiencing rapid transition and social disorganization due to outside influences and changes in the folk culture developed during the period of isolation and subsistence agriculture.

Migration of young people has left such a large proportion of the population in the dependent age groups that many are supported by government funds. In spite of migration, population pressure on resources is evident by the smallness of farms, hillside tillage, surplus labor, housing limitations, and low income. Cooperative action is needed to halt exploitation of resources and to plan for their replenishment. A well-rounded program will include not only a reduction of the labor force through planned migration from some areas, but also increased opportunities for employment. Suggestions made by the authors include: (1) development of local industry, (2) restoration of timber on many tracts, abandonment of some land, and better farming on the bottomlands, (3) a well-administered program of public works, (4) State and federal aid to the schools, (5) better business management of county government, (6) organization of business people to promote improvement of business practices, (7) rural electricity and telephones, (8) improvement of public health and welfare services, and (9) cooperative use of machinery and cooperative marketing of special crops.

[15.] A study of *The Puerto Rican migrant in St. Croix* was made in order to discover the problems connected with the migration and to help leaders in working out adjustments between the migrants and the Crucians. Information was obtained from libraries, through interviews, and from the

records of the Office of Price Administration. A copy of the 80-question schedule, in Spanish, which was used in the interview is included at the end of the report.

Puerto Ricans have been migrating to St. Croix for 20 years and now constitute about 25 per cent of the population. Sugarcane is the main crop of the island and the need for seasonal labor has stimulated the importation of workers from the island of Vieques where sugar acreage has decreased. Other Puerto Ricans came to St. Croix because they heard about opportunities for work or because they were dissatisfied with conditions at home. The newcomers work hard and produce more than the natives. This economic competition is the chief source of antagonism. The migrants are a mixed social group with more males than females and with a large proportion 15-19 years of age.

The Crucians criticize the migrants because of their (1) unsanitary habits, (2) troublesome behavior, (3) clannishness, (4) attempted monopoly of business (5) making money which is spent in Puerto Rico, and (6) white superiority beliefs. The majority of the Puerto Ricans do not like to associate with the Crucians. The difference in language hinders participation in school, church, business, and recreation, but enough migrants speak English to enable them to be represented in community activities if they were encouraged to take part. The author recommends (1) wise leadership to help in the integration of the groups, (2) new standards to measure plans and accomplishments, and (3) community action to improve economic conditions through increased production and cooperative movements among workers.

Housing

[4.] Housing needs of farm families in Minnesota and some of the problems involved in meeting these needs are discussed in a recent bulletin from the Experiment Station. Tables and charts based on Census data supplement the text. Nearly 41 per cent of the 1940 Minnesota farm homes were built between 1900 and 1920. However, since most of them were well constructed, only 27 per cent were classified as needing major repairs in 1940. The need for major repairs was greatest in the northern cut-over area where a large proportion of the homes were built since 1920. Although the farm homes are large compared to farm dwellings elsewhere, about 9 per cent had more than 1.5 persons per room. The fact that a high proportion of hired workers live in the homes of farm operators partially accounts for the relatively large farm households. Couples with children living in homes with their parents increase the size of many households.

Until the Rural Electrification Administration was established in 1935, few farm homes had electricity. Now about 30 per cent have this convenience. Eighty-five per cent of the farm homes have radios. Water and bathroom facilities and mechanical refrigeration are found in comparatively few homes. The installation of these conveniences was hindered by shortages during the war, but now is delayed because of low income and the need of other farm expenditures. Residence on a farm of low fertility or one too small to be an economical unit, and absence of nonfarm employment are major causes of low farm income. The increase of urban employment, consolidation of farms, improved farming practices, and lowered building costs would help to raise the level of living of many farm families.

[19.] The North Carolina Council of Housing Authorities has sponsored a study of public low-cost housing for white and colored groups in six cities in the State—Charlotte, High Point, Kinston, New Bern, Raleigh, and Wilmington. Families were studied in three stages: (1) as they lived before entering the housing projects, (2) while they were in the projects, and (3) when they had left the projects and settled elsewhere in th city. On the basis of preliminary interviews, a schedule was developed to secure information on the housing status of the families in these three stages. Data were obtained for 194 white families and 112 Negro families.

All families admitted to the projects were living in substandard dwellings, usually overcrowded, with incomes too low to secure adequate housing elsewhere. Since all were able to pay rentals for their apartments, the chief value of the housing projects was better housing for the money expended rather than lower costs. The projects have been on a sound economic basis with vacancies filled as soon as they appeared. The majority of those moving into the projects were young married people with a grammar school education. A variety of occupations were found in the white group including a number of taxicab and truck drivers. More Negro men were employed as laborers than in any other one occupation. After moving into the projects, more women secured employment outside the home. There was little participation in organized groups among the white families, but more among the Negroes whose membership in organizations increased decidedly while they were living in the projects.

The average length of stay in the projects was about eighteen months. The major reason for leaving was increased income which made them ineligible to remain in the projects. Some of the other reasons were dissatisfaction with neighbors, desire to own a home, change in location of work, and lack of adequate play space for children. The wholesome effect of adequate housing upon children and adults was pronounced. In general the Negro families seemed to show more direct benefit from the project experience than the white families. By the time they left the project, many families were able to finance their own homes. Although these often lacked some of the modern conveniences of the project apartments, they were far better than the dwellings previously occupied.

When recreation centers, clinics, and other services offered to those in the project are open to others in the neighborhood, the project dwellers feel more closely tied to the larger community. A family social worker can be a great help to families in their adjustments to project living. The tenants should be encouraged to plan for the time when they can move from the project into homes of their own. The length of stay will vary with individual families, but all should be expected to leave within a definite period. The author gives suggestions for cooperation between housing authority executives, real estate agencies, and home builders in order to meet more adequately the housing needs of low-income groups.

Miscellaneous

[12.] A relatively new field for research in rural sociology is opened by Lowry Nelson in *Farm retirement in Minnesota*. Increasing emphasis on the extension of social security to agriculture suggests that the retirement of farm operators will be of growing importance. A sample of Minnesota farmers was chosen, including 249 active operators 55 years of age and older and 111 farmers who had retired. The age and year of retirement, the reasons for retiring, how farmers financed their retirement, what disposition is made of their farms, where they live, how much and what kind of farm work they continue to do after retirement, and the type and extent of participation in community affairs are the topics covered. An analysis is made of the significance of the findings to current social security proposals and to the problem of finding farms for young men who would like to become farm operators.

[2.] A bulletin on *Life insurance for farm families* describes standard life insurance policies and small-policy life insurance. Detailed information is given on the kinds of policies along with suggestions for planning an insurance program to meet the specific needs of a farm family. The author states that the primary purpose of life insurance is to replace all or part of the income of the principal breadwinner of the family. How much he should carry depends upon "the amount of the family debts, the farmer's cash reserve or his ability to obtain ready cash, the nature of his other investments, his age, the number and age of

his dependents, and the cost of a funeral in his neighborhood."

The types of life insurance discussed include: (1) term insurance, (2) ordinary life, (3) limited-payment life, (4) endowment, (5) group life insurance, (6) industrial insurance, (7) burial insurance, and (8) national service life insurance for those in the armed forces. Information on stock and mutual companies, the calculation of premiums, reserves, and termination of policies is included. Thirteen tables supplement the text.

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Howard W. Beers

The Revival of Realism. By James Feibleman. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946. Pp. 333. $4.00.

Sovietism and Fascism emphasize the role, value, and power of the institutionalized group. Both systems actually eliminate the independence which the individual enjoyed in the occidental culture. This anti-individualism in the social sphere corresponds to and is supported by the emphasis given to the reality of the universal against the particular in contemporary philosophical systems which usually are characterized by the term "realism." The book under consideration also points in this direction. It does so not primarily by expounding systematically the author's own system. Feibleman's ideas may more easily be found in his other publications. The present review, therefore, will not concern itself with Feibleman's positive system, but with the main content of this book. *The Revival of Realism* is based on a vast, and with a few exceptions, correct knowledge of the thought under consideration. It attacks primarily some systems which are very popular today. To avoid misunderstandings, the explanations of the two essential terms as used by Feibleman may be cited here: (1) Realism considers universals, which have their being independently, both of concrete and actual things and thought, as real as concrete things (pp. 3, 6); (2) Nominalism considers concrete and actual things as more real than abstract universals (pp. 7 ff., 108 ff.).

Positivism, Pragmatism, and Psycho-analysis.—Feibleman considers these to be of a pronounced nominalistic and accordingly anti-realistic character. Therefore, he fundamentally rejects them. Positivism is rejected because it represents a contradiction in itself since it refuses to accept two things: (1) generalization—except for positivism's own generalization, that no generalization has any real standing; and (2) unchangeable things—except for positivism's statement that there is no unchanging thing (p. 232). The pragmatism of James is criticized for having perverted the original pragmatism of Pierce from a realistic to a nominalistic metaphysics by elevating practice and the actual (p. 41). Psycho-analysis is judged to be basically wrong because it defines an entity in terms of its origins (p. 312).

Toynbee.—His much discussed system of the philosophy of history is criticized because it represents a contradiction in itself in the following two-fold senses: (1) It is based on Bergson, whose whole philosophy is one of change, while Toynbee's own philosophy is dealing with the changeless (p. 172); (2) it advocates historical determinism and nevertheless intends to save western civilization. (p. 211).

Lovejoy.—His book, *The Great Chain of Being*, is considered by Feibleman the most dangerous nominalistic "Revolt against Realism." Lovejoy stands in high esteem among many leading sociologists. Accordingly, Feibleman's attack against him merits special notice. By discussing the "chain of being" of Lovejoy, Feibleman criticizes the latter especially for his fundamental concepts regarding the three properties which characterize the "chain of being." These are plenitude, continuity, and gradation. Lovejoy makes the following statements: (1) As to plenitude: all possibilities must in themselves contain the necessity of becoming actual (p. 103); (2) as to continuity: on one hand, real existence of the quantitative or numerical infinite seems to make reality essentially alien to man's reason (p. 104) and the other, to the extent to which one of the two logical alternatives is selected for actualization, the other is of necessity ruled out (p. 105); (3) as to gradation: evil is a necessary element in the actual world in order that the graded hierarchy of possibilities can become actual (p.

106). To these statements of Lovejoy, Feibleman replies in the following way: (1) possibility does not require actualization of itself (p. 103); (2) the assertions concerning continuity contain a contradiction because by the second assertion the argument is brought down within the realm of rationality again, which had been rejected in the first assertion (p. 105); and (3) for the hierarchy of possibilities to become actual, gradation does not require evil (p. 108).

Criticism.—In the opinion of the reviewer Feibleman has (1) demonstrated convincingly the contradictory character and untenability of positivism, pragmatism, and psycho-analysis; (2) put his finger on two weak points in Toynbee's system, which in many other respects merits attention, but (3) failed in his attempt to refute Lovejoy. The reviewer will mention just one argument; Feibleman argues against Lovejoy in connection with "possibility" in the following way: If all possibilities must in themselves contain the necessity of becoming actual (as Lovejoy is supposed to believe) then everything we could wish for does and will happen, and we need do nothing to promote a better status of actual affairs (p. 103). In this Feibleman is wrong. For the knowledge that our action is determined does not with necessity imply a restraint on the strength of our activity. Many historical examples prove the truth of this statement, e.g., Mohammedans, Calvinists, and Marxian workers.

Conclusion.—This book indeed goes too far. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile especially because it refutes in an original and convincing way some obsolete theories which still play a role in contemporary America. We are living in an epoch in which discussions about methods used, and methods which should be used, play and must of necessity play an important role. This being true, such a book should be studied by every sociologist who feels himself bound to be conscious of the theories useful within his sociological field.

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The Web of Government. By R. M. MacIver. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1947. Pp. ix + 498. $4.50.

The Web of Government is a trenchant analysis of government as a social process and as a form of social organization.

The abstract, philosophical nature of the book does not detract from its value. Only by means of such an analysis is it possible to describe the manifold complexities of government as a phase of modern social life. More general understanding of government's nature in the deeper recesses of social life is needed or democracy as it exists in most countries of the Western world may vanish from the earth. Legislation and party politics are only a part of the process.

The scope of the book is indicated by the titles of the five parts into which it is divided. They are the emergence of government; the bases of authority; the forms of government; the transformations of government; and conclusions on the theory of government. In Part One the author shows that government emerges gradually from the family to the state and that the political structure is not coextensive with the social structure but it is a particular system relative to and dependent upon a more inclusive system. (pp. 31-32).

The chapters dealing with the basis of authority in Part Two make clear that law in the sense of maintaining order is essential but "legal law is only the outer framework of the great firmament of order in society." (p. 73). In the maintenance of order social power (defined as the capacity in any relationship to command the service or the compliance of others) is necessary. A pyramiding of power is inevitable. The pyramid may conform to the pattern in which authority is vested in a monarch, or to a democratic pattern having authority vested in political leaders, party bosses, economic magnates, etc. Whatever the form of government it tends to create property in the sense of right to control. This does not mean, however, that economic interests determine the form of government, as socialists of the Marxian school and many non-socialist writers contend. Their logic over-

looks the basis of authority and the complexity of human motivations.

Many forms of government are described in Part Three. Finding classifications based on constitutional forms inadequate, the author proceeds to give a more realistic conspectus of the various forms of government. There are transitory and ascendant forms. Democracy is an ascendant form and therefore it is beset with many problems. "Democracy is not a way of governing, whether by majority or otherwise, but primarily a way of determining who shall govern and, broadly, to what ends." (p. 198). It "asserts the value of personality as a universal good and implies that there is a welfare of the whole to be attained through the cultivation of that value in all men; through their free relationships and under universal rules that deny to any power group the right to impose its will upon the rest." (p. 221). Any monopoly or near monopoly of the media of opinion is fatal to democracy. It is a curious fact, well demonstrated in recent decades, that social situations which permit the growth of democracy also make possible dictatorship.

The transformations of government are considered in Part Four. Of the various types of change revolutions are perhaps the most spectacular, and the author makes a distinction between national and class revolution. But even a social upheaval as drastic as revolution cannot obliterate the forces underlying political and social change. Hence, revolutions often have unexpected consequences. The Russian Revolution, for example, produced results very different from those envisaged by Marx, or even by Lenin.

Whatever the social changes are that now affect the social order, it is clear that they are adding more and more functions to government. These the author classifies as cultural, general-welfare, and economic control. Changes, too, are occurring in states and a new international order based on cooperative relations is developing.

In the final part the theory of government is considered. The author rejects the Hegelian theory of the all-embracing state. The many cultural organizations of society have not, and cannot have, any one focus. The community is more inclusive than the state. If the state is the regulator of the community it is not the co-ordinator of all that the community includes.

The Web of Government is an important addition to the literature of political sociology.

CHARLES R. HOFFER
Michigan State College.

The Meeting of East and West: an Inquiry Concerning World Understanding. By F. S. C. Northrop. New York: MacMillan, 1946. Pp. xxii + 531. $6.00

"The task of the contemporary world falls into four major parts: (1) the relating of the East and the West; (2) the similar merging of the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon cultures; (3) the mutual reinforcement of democratic and communistic values; and (4) the reconciliation of the true and valuable portions of the Western medieval and modern worlds. Running through all these special tasks is the more general one, made imperative with the advent of the atomic bomb, of harmonizing the sciences and the humanities."

There are several striking features of this quotation. It comes near the end of the book, not by way of orientation to the reader. That orientation is achieved more subtly by contrasting Mexican with American culture. There is no reference to the most-discussed tasks of our time: full employment, community organization, world police, city planning. And Northrop's choice is deliberate, for he considers the study of ideologies as basic to understanding and ameliorating our world.

Nor should the sociologist rise to protest. Northrop ably defends his judgment that ideology is basic to social organization while at the same time agreeing that it is one among many major factors.

This volume should be the deskside companion of every social scientist. Suppose you are puzzled by the paradoxes of Soviet policy and communist economic theory—turn to Ch. 6. Is it difficult to see why scholarly

and scientific Germany found political democracy so incredible? Read Ch. 5. In what sense, other than verbal, was Locke the father of modern democracy? Ch. 4, with its attendant probing of the distinctive features of American life more profound than Tocqueville's or Turner's deft interpretations will keep you thinking many days. Ch. 7 contains a lucid commentary upon the debates of neo-scholasticism vs. "liberal" thought set against the traditions of Greek philosophy. Then there is that bugaboo to most of us: epistemology. For the first time the writer is persuaded that epistemology is not only essential to rational analysis of the phenomenal world but also truly basic to our social policies, our folkways of mundane living, and our raging debates of politics. The demonstration of this thesis is woven into all the chapters and more formally stated in Chapters 3, 4, and 12.

The student of culture will see great utility in Ch. 8 on the meaning of western civilization and Ch. 10 on the meaning of eastern civilization, and in a beautiful description of syncretism (Ch. 11). He will also appreciate Northrop's decision to open his volume with a dissection of Mexican culture. Mexican culture is seen as a merger of *Latin* Christianity, the enlightenment, Anglo-Saxon capitalism and polticial democracy, and pre-European traits. Here the reader first glimpses the story Northrop will tell of how basic ideological themes have diffused and interacted. Certain types of art in India were influenced by Greek perspectives and Spanish-Latin Christianity was modified sensibly by Eastern ideas via the Arabs, to mention only two examples.

Northrop's ideal is summarized (p. 299): ". . . freedom will be conceived as involving not merely the Lockean political freedom to choose one's own lay and ecclesiastical representatives, and the Marxian freedom to have enough to eat, but also the Latin and especially the Spanish psychological freedom of the emotions and the sentiments." And he comes to this formulation of his goal by abstracting from his searching review of cultural history two ways of looking at the world which he calls the "esthetic component" and the "theoretic component," the former characterizing Eastern-Spanish thought and the latter Anglo-Saxon and Marxian thought. A distinction between the real and the apparent conflicts of these two world-views is drawn in the later section of the book.

This is the most stimulating, withal most difficult, book this reviewer has essayed in a long time. He has read it twice, and learned more the second time than the first, but many parts of it call for learning not casually come by. And now a final quotation to condole us, the professors, who deplore the chicanery of advertising while confessing our inability to convey knowledge. "Clearly, the instrument for the persuasion of the emotions is art, and the means for the conditioning of new habits is ceremonial, communal ritual."

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON
University of Kentucky.

Latin Americans in Texas. By Pauline R. Kibbe. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1946. Pp. xxi + 302. $3.50.

The avowed purpose of this work is to provide information that might serve as a guide for persons wishing to understand the problems confronting Latin Americans in their efforts to get along with Anglo-Americans, particularly in the state of Texas. The author is Executive Secretary of the Good Neighbor Commission of Texas which was appointed by Governor Coke R. Stephenson in 1943. The book contains a Foreword by Gustavo Ortiz Hernan, Consul General of Mexico with headquarters in San Antonio. The work contains fifteen chapters, an appendix consisting of six citations to the Congressional Medal of Honor for six Latin Americans (Mexicans) of the state of Texas who served in the armed forces of World War II, and a useful bibliography.

The work is divided into five parts. Part I, entitled "The Challenge," contains one short chapter called "What's the Matter with Texas?" This gives a dramatic account of the actual experience of a boy of

Mexican descent from a small town in West Texas after returning to civilian life from the army where he was decorated and wounded in the service of his country in World War II. Racial discriminations had been forgotten in the army but he returned home only to find that "a uniform and service ribbons—even obvious wounds—didn't affect his status among the townspeople." (p. 4).

Part II is called, "The American Neighborhood," and contains three chapters. These trace the development of Inter-American cooperation and end with a discussion of the strategic position of Texas in inter-American relations. It is pointed out that the United States-Mexico border is the most extensive geographical area wherein Anglo-American and Latin American cultures meet and that more than half of this border (about 1,000 miles) is also the southern boundary of Texas. It is estimated that about one person out of every six in Texas is of Mexican descent. Many of these were citizens of the United States prior to 1900, and many entering from Mexico since that time have been readily accepted into the middle classes because of their personal qualities, their business and professional experience, or for other reasons. This work is concerned primarily with the 600,000 who have come to Texas since 1900 as common laborers, and their Texas-born children. Many of these experience difficulty in being accepted without prejudice into American culture.

Part III contains two short chapters attempting to describe the social and economic environment of Mexico from which most Mexicans in Texas come. These chapters are useful but in the reviewer's opinion, the author tries to cover too much ground in too little space with the result that in some cases she resorts to blanket evaluations of the work of some of Mexico's leaders without presenting sufficient evidence to justify the conclusions.

Part IV deals with problems of Latin Americans in Texas and contains seven chapters. Some of the principal types of discrimination against persons of Mexican descent in Texas are listed as follows (p. 234):

(1) Refusal of admission to or service in public places of business and amusement.
(2) Arbitrary segregation of children in the public schools.
(3) Refusal to sell or rent real estate to persons of Mexican extraction, regardless of social, economic, or cultural status.
(4) Discrimination in employment, including inferior wage scales, curtailment of promotional opportunities, and denial of union membership.
(5) Refusal to permit citizens of Mexican extraction to vote in the Democratic primaries.
(6) Refusal to permit qualified citizens of Mexican descent to participate in the administration of justice through jury service.

The author makes it clear that these discriminations are by no means universal, and that considerable progress has been made in recent years in taking steps to counteract them.

Part V, entitled "Looking Ahead," summarizes the problems and suggests possible remedies. The book makes an important contribution in setting forth in bold relief some of the problems which face Americans of Mexican descent in Texas and which are bound to affect directly or indirectly our relations with all Latin American countries.

N. L. WHETTEN
University of Connecticut.

Folks Do Get Born. By Marie Campbell. New York: Rinehart and Company, 1946. Pp. x + 245. $3.00.

Out of the enigma which is the South, out of the contradiction which is Georgia, Miss Campbell has woven a delightful social narrative. The title *Folks Do Get Born* is indicative of the *leit motif* of the story for the rural people of the South do get born in spite of everything.

For the reader who is looking for a novel experience with the printed word, easy reading packed with deep social significance,

Folks Do Get Born is the answer. The book is about the "granny-midwives" of rural Georgia, their lives, their thoughts and their quaint idioms. The author faithfully allows Aunt Jeanie, Mam Bob, Aunt Kansas, and the rest, to give you first hand their philosophy, how they get into the "profession" of midwifery, how they pursue their life's work and how they retire from practice.

The reader gets an intimate and close-up view of the struggles of colored folks, how white and black interact in the deep South and how color almost melts away when it comes into contact with the biological phenomenon of birth.

The author transports her reader to a world inhabited by legendary characters, ghosts, stories from the past and hope for the future. The reader has the rare privilege of experiencing vicariously such dramatic events as the premature birth of triplets; the psychological conflicts of a light-complexioned colored girl who must "act colored" but at the same time desires to enjoy those things which are "for white only" in the South; the quiet peaceful death of Aunt Jeanie in the rear of a white church, and the struggles of more than 2,000 granny-midwives trying to adjust themselves to the demands of the "New Law" which forces them to substitute science for superstitions and traditions. There is a spirit of high humor interspersed with deep pathos and simple religious faith permeating this story about the more than 2,000 "grannies" who deliver one-fourth of the black and the white babies born in Georgia.

The reader is introduced to the picturesque speech of the rural Georgian and to the particularized jargon of the colored midwife. After reading *Folks Do Get Born* such words and concepts as "lison blank," "on the board," "catchin babies," "step down from the board," "branching in the bed," and the "Old Law" will be as familiar as "atomic energy" and "sit down strikes." Miss Campbell, who is also the author of "Cloud Walking" collected the data for this book from first hand observation of midwives clubs, from interviews with midwives, and with colored and white Georgia Public Health Nurses and from the records of the Georgia State Department of Health.

There are deep socio-economic implications present in this narrative. Miss Campbell sets before her reader the historical, the economic, the social and the psychological answers to the questions: "How has the practice of midwifery developed?" and "How have the elderly illiterate Negro grannies developed midwifery into a profession?" Melville Herskovits would find further support of his thesis of the survival of Africanism in America in the mid-wives' own story of the historical development of midwifery in the South.

This book, inasmuch as it is written primarily about a group of Negroes in Georgia, is unique in that it has no axe to grind, no particular social bill of goods to sell, nor any racial thesis to expound. Although the book is informative, it is not didactic. Miss Campbell has drilled deep down into the well-springs of a people and what she found was simplicity itself.

The author set out to tell simply the story of the colored midwives in rural Georgia and this she has accomplished with admirable skill. It is particularly fortunate that Miss Campbell accepted the suggestion of Aunt Jeanie to divide the book into two parts—part one "the true facts about the grannies" and part two "where the granny-midwives talk sociable in a kind of story fashion." Although Miss Campbell at no point shows a reform motive in her writing, it would not surprise the reviewer if this book should become an *Uncle Tom's Cabin* for the proponents of socialized medicine.

R. O. JOHNSON

Morris Brown College.

The Sociology of Rural Life (Revised Edition). By T. Lynn Smith. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947. Pp. xxii + 634. $4.00.

In the words of the author, from the preface, "The general outline of the book is unchanged . . . The use of the latest material from the Census of 1940 necessitated many fundamental changes, especially in the

charts and maps . . . More adequate data from other countries have been included."

As the original, this revised edition is one of the four leading textbooks in Rural Sociology. Its frame-work is a sound theoretical background of the Sorokin-Zimmerman school and that found in the leading introductory sociology texts. It is adequately supported by data from special studies.

The author has perhaps not made as many changes in the content of the revised edition as the facts warrant. For example, this reviewer found no reference to Gunnar Myrdal's, *An American Dilemma.* The inclusion of material from this source, especially in the chapter on "Stratification," would appear to be basic, especially since "nearly one-half of the entire rural population and more than one-half of the farm population live in the southern Census Divisions." (p. 60).

Again, Chapter V on "Physical Characteristics and Health" might have been brought up-to-date by more deference to the recent surveys on health and hospital facilities, to the work by the recent Commission on Hospital Care, and to the proposed coordinated plan for hospital-health-medical care. Some of this work has been done by rural sociologists.

Similarly, the chapter on migration disposes of the significant population changes since 1940 with two sentences (p. 176). Certain more recent information is available in this field and might have been exploited. The chapter on "Land Tenure" might have been vitalized by reference to the public domain issue (watershed, erosion, authority), especially the context of the problem presented by Bernard De Voto in the January issue of *Harpers.* Furthermore, the Agricultural economists have produced some pertinent studies on this point, especially the late Leonard A. Salter, Jr. (Wisconsin Research Bulletin 146) and Kenneth H. Parsons and Eliot O. Waples (Wisconsin Research Bulletin 157).

The additions of data in the revised issue are excellent. This is especially true of the additions on "Land Division", and the new data on social differentiation, on fertility, and on the Great Plains.

The addition of the 1940 Census data is very helpful. The "new and original" technique of using "position to identify a third factor on charts similar to those on which it has been the practice to use only two variables" is constructive. The student will find these charts somewhat complex and the author might have exploited the data more fully in the text.

The reviewer is not happy about the treatment of the subject of competition and conflict in the conventional sociology text. He was hoping that T. Lynn Smith would make a contribution to General Sociology as well as Rural Sociology by a clearer delineation between the two. It is easy to speak of the two in the same sentence or context, and the author is vulnerable on this count.

In discussing competition (p. 455) he uses the expressions "struggle" and "a family or clan feud of a mild, bloodless nature" as examples. This is one sphere in which the Rural Sociologist can make a contribution to his own field as well as that of General Sociology.

None of these review statements are intended to detract from the very able way in which T. Lynn Smith has handled the revision of his text.

CARL F. KRAENZEL
Montana State College.

Hindu Psychology. Its Meaning for the West. By Swami Akhilananda. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946. Pp. xviii + 241. $2.50.

This title may be misleading to those who conceive of psychology as a body of knowledge based upon empirical method. Providing an introduction to Hindu thought, this book is largely philosophical and religious in content. Its psychology is concerned with attainment of religious values, development of mind, and improvement of personality. The author, a member of the Ramakrishna Order and a teacher in the Vedanta centers of Boston and Providence, informs us that in India psychology is the "basic science of spiritual evolution."

Recognizing that contemporary American psychologists who hold to that conception of their science are not likely to be in particularly good academic standing, there is no denying that great popular interests exists in this area of inquiry among laymen. It is somewhat surprising that so many leaders in the psychological fraternity, who seem generally so avid to extend the boundaries of their discipline and to find practical applications in advertising, industry, and even in social work, should fail to recognize as colleagues those who cultivate a field satisfying such evident needs. That not all of them do is indicated by the fact that the introduction to this book was written by a distinguished psychologist at Harvard.

It is evident that Hindu psychology has affinities with psychoanalysis, although many differences exist between them. As in psychoanalysis there is much attention to subconscious states or hidden mental powers called *samskaras*. Again, the attainment of higher levels of self-understanding is a lengthy process difficult to effectuate save through the aid of one who has been initiated. Similarly, tranquillity of mind and integration of personality are held out as rewards to the persevering. Added to Hindu psychology is an increased likelihood of attaining eternal happiness—a release from the round of earthly reincarnations. Unlike psychoanalysis the basic urge is found not in sex or a will to power but in man's want for eternal bliss. The *samskaras* referred to above are deemed residues of the individual's earlier existences.

The first four chapters contain little that is new to the readers of this journal. Consisting largely of short summaries and interpretations of recent developments in psychiatry, psychoanalysis and related fields, they give evidence not only that the author has read widely but also that he was writing a book addressed to others than professional students of human behavior.

The remaining chapters, still on a rather elementary level, will interest sociologists who want to know how traditional Hindu thought, as contained in classical religious writing, is being interpreted to Americans by a contemporary exponent of this system of ideas. It is significant that the Ramakrishna Order of nineteenth century origin accepts as true all the religions of the world, viewing them as having a common divine inspiration. Perhaps much of the current appeal of Hindu thought to harried intellectuals in the western world may be found in its tolerance of divergence, its emphasis upon what is common to various religions, and its promise of tranquility.

The final chapter entitled "Philosophy of Life" draws heavily upon Sorokin's *The Crisis of Our Age* and his dichotomy of civilizations as sensate or ideational. Quotations from this work are cited as evidence of the imbalance in western values. A return to religion and an acceptance of elements of Hindu thought are offered by Swami Akhilananda as antidotes to the "poisonous fruit" of our sensate culture.

RAYMOND F. SLETTO
University of Minnesota.

Adjustment to Physical Handicap and Illness: A Survey of Social Psychology of Physique and Disability. By Roger G. Barker, Beatrice A. Wright and Mollie R. Gonick. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1946. Pp. xi + 372. $2.00.

The relation of physique to attitudes and habits of human beings represents an ancient and continuing interest. Folklore has it that fat people are jolly, that thin people are thoughtful, timid and reflective, and that short men are aggressive. Such popular beliefs have been made the subject of much investigation with varying degrees of scientific merit, and from various points of view.

The present volume contains a critical review, interpretation, and appraisal of certain segments of the literature dealing with the relations between physique and behavior. The term "physique" is defined as any structural or functional aspect of the physical organism except the central nervous system. The materials reviewed are limited both as to approach and with respect to subject matter. On the one hand

the review is restricted to studies of a purely social-psychological nature. This includes studies of behavior not directly induced by a particular physical characteristic but which may be traced back to such a characteristic as an initial stimulus of a series of stimulus-response units. It includes also behavior induced in the self and others by physical characteristics. That is, physical traits which become significant in the process of social interaction.

The review is also restricted to certain types of variation in physique. These types include: (a) normal variation in size and shape of the body and in muscular strength and motor ability, (b) crippling defects, (c) tuberculosis, (d) impaired hearing and (e) acute illness. These were selected because they are said to represent the main types of variation in physique, and because they are among the more important practical problems.

The bibliography of literature selected on these problems includes a total of more than 700 titles. Additional bibliography on other aspects of physique not under review includes more than 300 other titles. These cover the subjects of visual disability, cardiac disability, diabetes, cosmetic defect, rheumatism, and cancer.

This book is very much more than an annotated list of references. Also it is more than a mere summary of findings of various investigators. Furthermore, the authors have not limited themselves to a critical evaluation of the literature studied. They have developed a conceptual system of explanation of the manner in which physique influences personal and social adjustment.

It is difficult to find much fault with this work except to say that probably few readers will be greatly impressed with the theoretical frame of reference elaborated by the authors. Of the various concepts employed, probably that of the marginality of the deviant individual in overlapping situations is most useful. The physically handicapped person often participates in certain activities that are open to both normal and deviant persons on equal terms. In this overlapping situation the handicapped individual is placed in a marginal position between a privileged normal group and an underprivileged deviant class. Uncertainty and ambiguity often characterize this position, and produce changes in personality.

Perhaps the greatest value of this work is to be found in two contributions. The serious limitations of past research in this important field are pointed out, and many problems are suggested for future research.

A. R. MANGUS

Ohio State University.

Santa Eulalia: The Religion of a Cuchumatán Indian Town. By Oliver LaFarge. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947. Pp. xix + 211. $4.00.

This book is a worthy addition to the anthropological studies of Indian communities in Middle America published by the University of Chicago Press. Most people will recognize LaFarge as the novelist whose *Laughing Boy* won a Pulitzer prize. He is also an anthropologist, although anthropology is apparently having difficulty in competing for his time lately. The field work for this study was done in 1932 and the first draft of the manuscript was completed at that time. Publication of the book was delayed, however, until Melvin Tumin came to the rescue and rearranged it into final form.

LaFarge has a point of view which is worth noting since he combines the literary approach with the scientific. He may possibly shock some scientists with his statement to the effect that "There will be found in it (this work) a good deal of subjective, even opinionated, writing. This is present partly because the author is an amateur scientist and an ardent professional in writing. It is present even more because the writer believes that ethnology is an inexact science, inseparable from subjective, qualitative observations. The opinions and bias of the observer, therefore, are essential data which should be frankly presented. The colorless objectivity affected by many ethnologists is a deception and a suppression of data."

The study is focused on the religion of the inhabitants of an isolated Indian town in the Cuchumatan mountains of western Guatemala. The religion of the Indians of Middle America is an intriguing subject. Nominally the Indians are Christians (Roman Catholics) but actually their religious behavior represents a combination of Christian and Pagan beliefs and practices. Many of the indigenous myths, legends, dances, and other religious rites have been woven around Bible characters, and it is difficult separate the native traditions from those superimposed at the time of the Conquest.

LaFarge has written an interesting book. It contains 16 chapters. The first five deal with the physical and social backgrounds of the community. These chapters are entitled: "Santa Eulalia in the Cuchumatanes," "The Indian, The Tribe, and The Republic," "Family and Kin," "Material Culture," and "Individual's Life-Course." They are rather sketchily presented but furnish a background for the chapters on religion. The rest of the book is devoted to myths, legends, ritual, religious ceremonies, etc. Representative chapter headings are: "Myths and Legends," "Layman's Ritual," "Christian-Derived Deities," "Formal Non-Christian Ceremonies," and "Magic and Born Shamans." The final chapter entitled "A Ceremonial Conflict" relates how the author was accused of stealing a stone idol and finally resorted to the "Magical" power which the Indians assumed he possessed in order to protect his local friends. The book gives a good insight into how magic works among these groups.

The book is illustrated by 24 photographs and contains a useful bibliography.

N. L. WHETTEN
University of Connecticut.

Educational Sociology. By Francis J. Brown. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947. Pp. xiv + 626.

The responsibility of education to undertake the leading role in achieving that "brave new world" so often dreamed is strongly presented by the author of this challenging new book. Education is seen as the major instrument of social control; thus it becomes the most promising field of applied sociology. The school, planning its program in coordination with agencies such as the family, the play group, and the community, takes the most effective approach to the development of the personality and group patterns of behavior needed in a world of social change and creativeness.

There remain a number of troublesome questions as to "how" after one has read (and nodded his head vigorously at many points) this earnest and optimistic volume. But those who do want to undertake the social role of education so strongly presented by Dr. Brown will receive much help and encouragement from this volume. The book has been conveniently organized for the student of education although brief overviews for each part would have helped. Particularly convincing is Part I, "Why Educational Sociology?" of three chapters dealing with the individual, the social and the interactional approach. Only the most obstinate will be willing to admit a preference for other than the latter when Dr. Brown finishes with them.

Successive parts of the volume deal with "Individual-Group Interaction," "The Agencies of Person-Group Interaction," and "The Outcomes of Individual-Group Interaction." The author's position is presented both graphically and in the following quotation (p. 138):

> "The socially acquired self gives direction to the individual's behavior in social situations which, in turn, modify the culture pattern. This is the cycle of social interaction. That the cycle is subject to definite direction through social planning and through education of children and adults gives hope for the betterment of both individual and social welfare."

For this reviewer the outstanding chapters are those dealing with the social processes, the social nature of education, and development of the in-group. Space is given to historical sketch of the school in relation to the culture, and to more or less conventional treatment of the curriculum, school-

community relationships, and adult education.

This volume presents some needed help in the field of teacher education, which has not made substantial progress in recent years. Lack of positive challenges and suggestions, and some confusion in terminology have operated to limit the contribution of educational sociology to teacher education. The author does a better job than most in clearing up terminology and using it consistently. Furthermore, the book does confront teacher education with a challenge. The author wants education to become a positive factor in social change! It will be necessary for the educational sociologist to help the practical educator to develop the necessary "know how".

The author, Dr. Francis J. Brown, has had a rich and versatile experience in teaching, scholarly study, and contacts with public and private agencies concerned with education and social forces. He has made good use of this background in preparing a book which will be of much help in teacher education.

E. F. HARTFORD
University of Kentucky.

Labor Force Definition and Measurement (Recent Experience in the United States). Prepared by Louis J. Ducoff and Margaret Jarman Hagood for the Subcommittee on Labor Force Statistics of the Committee on Labor Market Research. (Bulletin 56). New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947. Pp. x + 134. $1.00.

As sociologists well know, this study deals with one of the most difficult fields of sociological definition and classification. At the outset, the labor force is defined as, ". . . the part of the population engaged in economic pursuits—all persons at work or holding a job and the unemployed who are seeking work. At any given time the labor force of a nation, a region, or a smaller area is its population actually at work or looking for work." (p. 1).

Considerable attention is given to the history and development of labor force statistics beginning with the early census reports on the work status of the population and culminating in depression efforts to ascertain the labor force. Considerable attention is given to the monthly estimates of the labor force begun under the Works Progress Administration and later transferred to the Bureau of the Census. A major part of the book is given to explaining the underlying philosophy and methodology of labor force statistics dealing with the current work status of the population.

More interesting to the rural sociologists is that phase of study which explores the possibilities of refinement and improvement in labor force measurements, and especially that phase which emphasizes the need for a better labor force concept. For example, Chapter 3, entitled "Differentiation of the Labor Force" suggests the need for research about such problems as (1) development of standards which will permit a definition of the inadequately employed; (2) development of schedule questions which will permit identifying (a) the underemployed and inadequately paid, (b) the several classes described among the unemployed.

Most interesting of all to sociologists is the chapter on "Labor Force Dynamics," which employs the concepts of time and space, and which, therefore, has much greater sociological importance than the inventory aspects of labor alone. Here changes in the economic structure and in economic trend, which determine conditions of employment and unemployment, which compel streams of migration, which affect age groups entering the labor market, and other such factors of critical interest, are discussed in brief.

No attempt is made to clarify occupational or employment classifications of agricultural or other occupational groups as such, this apparently being considered beyond the scope of the study.

Over a third of the volume is given to appendices, which present more technical discussions of the problem of the book, and to schedules and bibliography.

PAUL H. LANDIS
State College of Washington.

Outline of American Regional Sociology. By Carle C. Zimmerman. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Phillips Book Store, 1947. Pp. ix + 122. $1.75.

Here is portraiture of seven Americas in search of understanding done in primary colors with a four-inch brush. Within the space of 122 pages Professor Zimmerman attempts to justify regional study as basic to national self-understanding and to describe the seven major regions into which this nation is divided by him. Within that limitation he does a fine job.

His seven-fold division of the nation appears to be basically economic: the urban Northeast (which extends as far west as the Eastern portion of Minnesota), the Appalachian-Ozark region of subsistence farming, the South of cotton and tobacco, the Corn Belt, the Wheat Belt, the Arid West of herders and miners, and the Pacific coast region, whose character is yet to be formed, but which will be built, it is indicated, on specialty crops and movie box office appeal.

But if economic forces are placed at the center of the canvas, geography, ethnic composition, historical development are grouped as a background. From these materials then are drawn the "social-system personality," the contributions, and the problems characteristic of the region.

The regional personality, or "group mind" appears as the real focus of attention of Dr. Zimmerman, and he relies on artistic as well as "scientific" materials in his efforts to evoke and describe this entity. One wonders why he did not set up his regions in terms of prevailing attitudes and values, rather than as economies. Intensive probing by public opinion pollsters during the past decade have supplied a fund of material for such a procedure.

In the short preface, and again in the shorter conclusion, there is a very fine statement of the value and necessity of regional studies. The *Outline* is a preliminary and tentative formulation, distributed as a research tool in which hypotheses are advanced so that they may be revised as evidence of error accumulates. As such it is suggestive and provocative. But until the work of filling in the skeleton is further advanced, there is not too much to be discussed.

HARRY ESTILL MOORE
University of Texas.

The Money Value of a Man. By Louis I. Dublin and Alfred J. Lotka. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1946. Pp. xvii + 214. $6.00.

This book is an extensive revision of the original book published in 1930. Every chapter has been thoroughly reworked and brought up-to-date. Three new chapters have been aded, viz.: The American Family, Income in Relation to Age and Economic Status, and Social Insurance. Other chapters of particular interest to rural sociologists are: Cost of Bringing Up a Child, Income in Relation to Economic Status, Economic Effects of Disease, and Application to Public Health. The appendix includes some valuable tables on family consumption units and savings, maximum earnings by age, and life tables for white males and females, 1939-41. Anyone who reads the Metropolitan Statistical Bulletin will already be familiar with some of the materials in this book.

The central theme of this book is the *money value* of a man. This topic is of especial interest in the field of insurance but has applications also in legal disputes involving the *present value of the future earning* capacity of any person disabled or killed in an accident. The authors have been most ingenious in computing the present *money values* of persons of different ages, incomes, and mortality rates. Detailed tables have been derived, showing present values of net and gross future earnings (after deductions for income tax) by age, income class, and mortality. Mortality is classified as 25 per cent below average; average; and 100 per cent above average. An interest rate of 2½ per cent has been assumed. For instance, the *money value* of a 40 year old person, earning net $3,000 per year at average mortality, is found to be $26,800. As a person gets older his money value decreases because he has fewer earn-

ing years left and his income after reaching a maximum declines. A person whose maximum earnings are in the $3,500 class will reach the maximum at about 40 years of age—the greater the maximum income the older is the age at which the maximum is reached. A $10,000 maximum income is usually reached at about 55 years of age.

The authors have thought of and taken into consideration every angle to this problem and have stated briefly and concisely the numerous applications. Their attitude on public vs. private insurance is that the two types of insurance are not in conflict but rather are complementary. Private insurance companies have very likely obtained more business because of the development of social insurance.

Although the authors emphasize the money value of good health work, they studiously avoid any reference to the money value of government health insurance, which could be shown most effectively by their methods.

The value of this book is greatly enhanced by 57 well-arranged tables and 8 charts and graphs. More graphs might well have been used. All students of rural population should have this book and should use it frequently.

C. HORACE HAMILTON
North Carolina State College.

The Texas Republic, A Social and Economic History. By William Ransom Hogan. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1946. Pp. xiii + 338. $3.00.

The best of social history is not social science. It is rather social description set in a time series which, if well done, will be analogous to moving pictures rather than a series of still pictures. Social history does provide appropriate data for the sociologist, and the intelligent social historian will present his data so that the sociologist can make use of it. Some social historians do, on occasion, fill the role of sociologists as well —with varying degrees of success.

To be truly scientific, a social history would have to be written with certain clearly stated, objectively verifiable hypotheses in mind. Historical data should be sought which will aid in either verifying or refuting the hypotheses. If some of the hypotheses can be only partially verified or refuted, the historian should be frank to state his inconclusive results and to outline what facts or types of facts are needed to complete the scientific analysis. Perhaps this is asking too much of historians. In any case, they still prefer to make general historical surveys and in the case of social historians they cover a wide variety of subjects, such as, making a living, housing, dress, social and recreational activities, manners and customs, religion, politics, health, and so on.

As social history goes, *The Texas Republic* is among the best. It covers the subjects mentioned above for Texas during its separate national existence, 1836-1846. The book is interesting and is well-documented. Modern Texans (this reviewer is one of the tribe) have inherited many elements of the frontier culture of the Texas Republic. In his chapter on Rampant Individualism, the author assumes that Texans, as a lot of folks say, are more individualistic (in a peculiar Texas way) than citizens of other states. One might argue this point, but we shall pass it up with the observation that the individualism of Texans has been very much over-emphasized. The present day oil barons and newly rich industrial tycoons are individualistic in the same way as are their counterparts in the other parts of the world. They want the freedom to exploit the natural resources and the people of Texas, and they are glad to have on their side the popular idea of native Texas individualism. It is true, of course, that present day attitudes of exploitation had their counterparts among the large scale land grabbers and cattle barons of pioneer Texas and that such attitudes have in some degree been inherited (culturally) by the present generation.

Just how much modern Texas and Texans are unique because of their peculiar pioneer characteristics is a moot question. Hogan does not over labor the point but he does make out a plausible case.

C. HORACE HAMILTON
North Carolina State College.

Hospital Resources and Needs. Report of the Michigan Hospital Survey. Battle Creek, Michigan: The W. K. Kellogg Foundation, 1946. Pp. xxiv + 172.

This is a most important report of a study conducted by the Commission on Hospital Care of the American Hospital Association. The Commission was established in 1944 by the American Hospital Association to conduct a two-year nation-wide study of hospital care for the American people. An important function of the Commission was to make inventories of existing hospital facilities and to develop plans for integrating hospital services on State and local levels. The present Michigan report is the result of a pilot study for the purpose of developing work materials and survey procedures which could be used in other states.

The body of the report consists of nine chapters. Following the Introduction are six chapters devoted to an inventory of existing hospital facilities and to related factors, and two chapters formulating a plan for hospital service in Michigan along with a summary and additional recommendations. The chapters dealing with the inventory outline the role of general hospitals; their organization and administration; and their size, location, type, and integration. Also of an inventory nature is a chapter on health service personnel and facilities. Social, economic, and geographic factors are adequately treated in a separate chapter to show their relation to the development of hospital service. Of particular value from the technician's standpoint is the development of a formula in Chapter 7 for estimating need for general hospital beds.

In its "plan for hospital care in Michigan" the report suggests centers for hospital facilities and delineates hospital service areas and regions. Recommended accordingly are two centers for medical education and service at Ann Arbor and Detroit, 21 regional and 81 community hospital centers, and 181 public health and medical service centers to be organically related and integrated into a State-wide system of hospital care. Additional recommendations apply to a variety of considerations in planning a hospital system for a State. More detailed data are presented in 17 appendix tables.

The report is especially timely in view of its direct application to the recently enacted Federal legislation for hospital surveys and construction. Sociologists and economists in the land grant colleges who are now being called upon to assist in making similar studies should find this report of great practical value.

ROBERT L. MCNAMARA
U. S. Public Health Service
Washington, D. C.

A Look at Our Schools. By Paul R. Mort and William S. Vincent. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1946. Pp. x + 115. $1.50.

Two outstanding educators have written a frank, concise, and persuasive volume on problems and opportunities facing modern education. Their keynote is that "Schools are a social instrument the policies and practices of which merit the earnest consideration of every serious-minded citizen ... if the public thinks of education as but a resting station between infancy and taking a job, then our schools cannot amount to very much in our society."

The authors develop a stereotype of a traditional *1900 school* and contrast it with a so-called *modern school.* An effective use of this method exposes the differences with regard to educational objectives, assumptions as to psychology of learning, curriculum construction, educational methods and materials, physical plant, and personnel.

A good modern school emerges as a highly organized institution using a specialized technology of instruction. Personnel and plant to provide this institution must be of the best quality.

"Whether Americans want anachronistic, inadequate, cheaply supported schools, or whether they want to bring more schools up to the level of the adaptable school which, costing relatively much more, has forged new tools to educate today's youth, there is no choice. Every business manager knows that changeover costs money . . . An edu-

cation which operates on pin money cannot fit youngsters to a full-functioning economy."

There is tremendous power in such succinct arguments. The social scientist will find a volume which charts the urgency for and complexity of speeding the adoption of new, modern educational technology. The school as a social institution is clearly pictured. The social processes which operate in and on the school show its strategic role in democratic society.

To those writers who think mastery of subject matter exists in direct proportion to length of sentences and size of words, this volume should serve as a symbol of their error. The authors beautifully use language which makes reading a pleasure rather than labor.

JOHN E. IVEY, JR.
University of North Carolina.

The Way of the South. By Howard W. Odum. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. Pp. xi + 350. $3.00.

Howard W. Odum calls upon his over forty years of research, study, experience and writing to paint this superb and accurate word picture of the South of yesteryear in such a way that all who wonder and *want to see* can understand the South, an integral region of America, for what it was and is and for what it wants to be.

This is the picture of the South shorn of all its pre-Civil War glory; a South of customs and traditions left bitter over its treatment after that war. It is the history of unbalanced economic conditions, of inadequacy of rural education, of complexities of the Negro dilemma, and of many other conditions and problems of the South of old. It is the story of the fading of this South into a new glory and a recording of the problems of this transition as it took place under the critical eyes of the North that could not fully comprehend the scope of the problems involved. This is the picture of the maladjustments to the new era on the part of the South; of its struggle to regain lost prestige.

It is the depiction of a puzzled South taking stock of itself and eagerly trying to make such adjustments as would better fit it for its place in the nation. It shows the struggle of the South to develop her abundance of natural and human resources and to overcome her deficiency of capital wealth and her technological and institutional resources. This is a recounting of the measures the South has taken to bridge the gap between what she has and what she wants that is so necessary in moving "toward the regional balance of America."

Dr. Odum approaches the problems of the South logically and impartially. He starts with the history of the settling in the South and the problems which developed with this settling. He continues with the developed problems of all the years that have followed. His analyses and explanations of these problems are clear and his criticisms are constructive. The description and anecdotes used are great. Howard W. Odum, the master that he is, has truly painted a masterpiece that can and should be thoroughly examined by every person desirous of knowing America.

JOHN R. BERTRAND
Agricultural and Mechanical
College of Texas.

Psychology For The Millions. By Abraham P. Sperling. New York: Frederick Fell Inc., Publisher, 1946. Pp. xiv + 397. $3.00.

Dr. Sperling, a faculty member of the College of the City of New York, in this book presents an interpretation of psychology "for the people." In the Preface he acknowledges having "bent every effort to make it readable, entertaining and informative as well as thought-stimulating." Even though the effort at popularization seems at times overdrawn, the book is essentially a stepped-up version of generally orthodox current psychology.

A comparison of the rather bizarre chapter titles with the subtitles, which are quite standard and comprehensible, brings out this slightly split-personality aspect of the work. For instance, "The Circus Giant and the Bearded Lady" turns out to be a vivid

account of the influences of actually an exposé of various too-simple modes of typing and judging personality. "Quiz Kids and Phi Beta Kappa Men" covers the range of intellectual levels from idiot to genius.

The book begins with a series of chapters on the physiological basis for behavior, including treatments of the senses, bodily conditions, heredity and environment, and instincts. In the remainder of the work personality receives major emphasis, including in addition to the topics mentioned above treatments of child and parent psychology, the emotions, motivation ("What Makes Sammy Run"), personality conflicts and adjustments, fear, abnormal psychology, and the psychology of sex. The book concludes with bibliographies and indexes of names and subjects.

Some readers will doubtless take exception to Dr. Sperling's position on occasional points such as his emphasis on "religious intimidation" as an influence contributing to neurotic fears. Similarly, his treatment of sex life is relativistic almost to the point of being amoral. Other readers, however, reacting less emotionally may be enticed into further and even more serious reading in these and other fields by the author's curiosity provoking references to the literature.

On the whole, *Psychology For The Millions* should perform a useful popularizing function in a subject matter field which is filled with far less nutritious fare.

EDGAR A. SCHULER

Michigan State College.

Outline of Social Change and Progress. By Carle C. Zimmerman. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Phillips Book Store, 1946. Pp. 64. $1.75.

Professor Zimmerman's outline of a course to consider the types of desirable social change that have dominated Western Society since the end of the classical period of the Roman Empire, is designed to point out that Western civilization is in another one of the periods when there is need for constructive planning in the field of recreated social relations and social institutions. The core idea of the course is the evolution and synthesis of the various value systems which changed, even if they did not relate to, the social patterns and institutions with which they were associated.

The outline divides "social time" in Western society into seven periods ranging from the period of decaying secular institutions in the Roman Empire (c. 300 to 600 A. D.) to the period of "Twentieth Century pessimism" (c. 1915-1975). These periods fairly approximate in time the eras delineated by Toynbee, except that Zimmerman regards the period from 1800-1915 as one of "modern false decretals," and the period from 1915-1975 as one of "twentieth century pessimism." The intellectuals of this period include LePlay, Hansen, Brooks Adams, Gini, Pareto, Spengler, Toynbee and Sorokin.

The course urges planning, the avoidance of Hegelian dreams, the discountenance of Bury's limited interpretation of progress, for a society cannot survive if it rests only upon the "foundations of compulsion."

The significance of Professor Zimmerman's guide is that the student may learn thereby that we do not necessarily countenance the values of earlier periods once we have knowledge, but at least we are not baffled by them. We know the situations out of which they grew, the responses they elicited, and their structural interrelation. All of which discloses something significant about the history and nature of men. That is very important in the present "revolt of the masses" when, as Zimmerman says, social responsibility *seems* gone (italics ours).

IRA DE A. REID

New York University.

American Indian Education. By Evelyn C. Adams. New York: King's Crown Press, 1946. Pp. xiii + 122. $2.25.

In terms of the study's limitation, the education of the American Indian began when the first European settlers arrived in the New World. Finding the economic adjustment of the indigenous population ranging from a nomadic life to settlement in towns, and having reached a more advanced stage

of technological advancement, the newcomers attempted to teach their ways of worship and work to the Indians.

The general aim of colonial Indian education was to make converts, to train missionaries and to produce laborers trained in European work techniques. But despite the two and a half centuries of colonial endeavor, the majority of the natives remained untutored and their basic economy remained unchanged.

Following the American Revolution the New Nation was concerned with Indian education but it only assumed partial responsibility. It was not until 1870 that the federal government assumed full responsibility for Indian education. During this period 1870-1921, American Indian education reached a low ebb, due primarily to the loss of lands and to the inefficiency of education.

Federal responsibility was reinterpreted following the Meriam Report of 1928 and The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, and tremendous strides in Indian education have been made by the federal government from 1929 to the present time.

The author is to be commended for a concise and well written study of a complex subject. The book should be of special interest to rural sociologists and educators alike.

JULIAN SAMORA

Adams State College.

Democratic Administration. By Ordway Tead. New York: Association Press, 1945. Pp. 78. $1.25.

The first part of this small volume is a slightly revised form of the brochure, *Creative Management,* first published in 1935. Part II of the book, written more recently and entitled "Democracy in Administration," attempts "to supply a fuller philosophical setting for the democratic practices" described in the earlier publication. Although the author has oriented his material toward urban, civic, religious, welfare and educational agencies, application to organized activity in rural communities can be made without difficulty.

The central theme of Tead's argument is that "the way the association or institution is set up, controlled, and administered influences directly the possibility of successfully realizing the aims." For example, democratic behavior is not likely to be taught through activity which is autocratically organized and controlled. "The principle of the representation of interests" is basic to democratic administration. This principle is "that every special group's interest is safeguarded only as there is an explicit voicing of that interest in the councils of the organization." How this principle is to be carried out in the interaction of the membership, the managerial staff, board of directors and other groups in an organization is described. The author makes a definite contribution by defining democracy in terms of the specific steps in a process.

Though several central concepts have not been adequately defined and more systematic treatment of the major problems would have been desirable, those interested in the study and practice of democratic administration will find provocative reading in this small volume.

HAROLD F. KAUFMAN

University of Kentucky.

Your Marriage and Family Living. By Paul H. Landis. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1946. Pp. xvi + 371. $2.20.

This book is an important contribution toward meeting a long-felt want in the senior high school social studies curriculum. The significance of the textbook is found in its integration of historical and scientific data as a frame of reference and guide for young people in making the most important decisions and adjustments of their lives. While some of the material has been fairly effectively presented in other social science textbooks for secondary schools, other portions, notably the chapters dealing with dating, courtship and marriage are new both in content and approach.

The historical approach of Part I gives it authoritative background for the understanding of the national and personal aspects of the family as the fundamental so-

cial institution. In this impersonal setting the author convincingly presents the inescapable necessity of acting in conformity with the personal ideals and sex mores as the only safe way of attaining the good life in marriage. The sections on marriage and parenthood, "the last important step in growing up," contains much pertinent and practical information, interestingly presented. The problem of divorce is effectively discussed both in its personal and social aspects.

The problems, references and visual aids which are correlated with each unit together with the pictographic presentation of statistical data and the numerous excellent photographs greatly enhance the value of the textbook.

ERNST T. JACOBSON

Cokato, Minnesota.

Food, Famine and Relief. By the League of Nations. New York: American Book-Stratford Press, Inc., 1946. Pp. 162. $1.50.

This is a useful handbook with pages of statistics and comment on food rationing and consumption during and after World War II. During the war the average consumption in the United States was more than the normal 3,000 calories; in the United Kingdom, Germany, Denmark, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia and in the European countries, except Spain, nearly normal; in Belgium, Finland, the Netherlands and Norway, 2,300 to 2,800 calories; in the Baltic states, Slovakia, France and Italy, 1,500 to 2,300 calories (stepped up by black market in some parts); in Russia, less than 2,000 calories; in Japan where pre-war consumption was 2,300 calories, it was 2,200 in 1944; in Poland, Greece, Yugoslavia and Albania semi-starvation existed in many parts, with actual famine in Greece in 1942.

In the year following the war the situation did not improve. The world *per caput* food production was 12 per cent below the pre-war figure. In 1946, 140 million people had less than 2,000 calories a day, despite the efforts of UNRRA and other agencies. In January, 1946, the average ration in the western Allied zones of Germany was about 1,500 calories, and in the Russian zone considerably less, although in both areas black market purchases were possible. In addition to the critical food shortage, the lack of housing, soap, and hot water, together with excessive fatigue and nervous strain make for a high incidence of illness. In Germany, France and Italy morbidity and mortality have risen to high levels, and in Poland, Yugoslavia, Russia and Greece even more so.

GUY F. HERSHBERGER

Goshen College.

Land for the Small Man. By Newlin R. Smith. Morningside Heights, New York: King's Crown Press, 1946. Pp. xiii + 287. $3.50.

Following the last great enclosure movement in England (1760-1840) there was a persistent demand for an allotment program. It was argued that systematically provided garden plots, usually less than an acre in size, would supplement the inadequate incomes of urban and farm laborers. Later larger tracts of land suitable for market gardens or family-sized farms were urged as means by which laborers could become small farmers. Newlin R. Smith has outlined the forces responsible for this movement, the legislation that resulted and the operation of the plan. In addition he has evaluated the results of this particular type of agrarian reform. He concludes that it has only partially fulfilled the ten major objectives of its sponsors. The program has not prevented a decline in the number of small holdings in England and Wales and did not check the depopulation of rural areas. Mobility on the agricultural ladder was not noticeably stimulated. Political stability, improved rural health, relief of industrial unemployment and greater agricultural productivity were other hopes never fully realized.

Rural sociologists will appreciate the attention paid to the class structure existing in English agriculture and the political and social pressures resulting therefrom. Smith suggests that the statutory small holding

program may have reduced the friction between agricultural classes and contends "If this is true, a limited continuing provision of publicly supplied small holdings may be justified on that ground alone." (page 230).

WALTER C. MCKAIN, JR.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Successful Part-Time Farming. By Haydn S. Pearson. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1947. Pp. xii + 322. $3.00.

It is Mr. Pearson's thesis that part-time farming, which he defines as that way of living that combines country living with city working, is both practical and feasible and that if a few basic rules are followed some additional income can be realized from the part-time farm. Location, water supply, electricity and type of soil are listed as the big four prerequisites for choosing a part-time farm.

From there he goes on to discuss briefly the matter of farm buildings, of preparing and remodeling houses, the size of farm and the types of crops which may be grown for cash return. The tools and the mechanical problems involved in production and marketing are discussed in a realistic manner. The book ends with a group of recipes for the use of home raised foods.

This is one of the most practical, usable books on the subject that has come to the writer's attention. It is an excellent treatise and although it presents an optimistic point of view the optimism is of the kind that should serve as a good antidote to the blandishments of the real estate agent who has something to sell which may or may not meet the would-be part-time farmer's requirements.

P. G. BECK

Washington, D. C.

Social Insight through Short Stories. Edited by Josephine Strode. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946. Pp. x + 285. $3.00.

In her selection of the twenty-six short stories included in *Social Insight Through Short Stories,* Miss Strode has included a wide variety of situations and characterizations. As she states in the preface, the stories do provide a wealth of material for analysis and discussion for teaching purposes, but with the exception of some six or seven of the selections one wonders just how much the reading in itself will increase the awareness and understanding of human values and relationships unless the reader is already blessed with considerable social insight. So many of the stories point up the trite thinking and common prejudices of today that for many readers the majority of the stories might tend to strengthen their way of thinking rather than increase their insight.

For teaching purposes, however, where real leadership can be given in the analysis and discussion of the many conflicts illustrated, the selections have real value.

HELEN A. BROWN

University of Louisville.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work. Selected Papers Seventy-Third Annual Meeting, Buffalo, New York. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. Pp. xi + 608. $5.00.

Society, Culture, and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics. By Pitirim A. Sorokin. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947. Pp. xiv + 742. $5.00.

Unto the Least of These (Social Services for Children). By Emma Octavia Lundberg. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1947. Pp. xi + 424. $3.75.

Our Rural Communities. By Laverne Burchfield. Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1947. Pp. xiii + 201. $2.50.

Farm Management. By John D. Black, Marion Clawson, Charles R. Sayre and Walter W. Wilcox. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. Pp. xii + 1073. $5.50.

Youth, Marriage and Parenthood. By Lemo D. Rockwood and Mary E. N. Ford. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1945. Pp. xiii + 298. $3.00.

Jesse Buel (Agricultural Reformer). By

Harry J. Carman. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. Pp. xxxvi + 609. $6.75.

Ozark Superstitions. By Vance Randolph. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. Pp. 367. $3.75.

Children of the People. By Dorothea Leighton and Clyde Kluckhohn. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1947. Pp. xi + 277. $4.50.

The Psychology of Ego-Involvements. By Muzafer Sherif and Hadley Cantril. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1947. Pp. viii + 525. $6.00.

Your Region's Resources. Compiled by Mary Ann Tanksley. Nashville, Tennessee: Regional Materials Service, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1947. Pp. v + 149. $.25.

NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Leland B. Tate

American Council on Public Affairs. Scholarly manuscripts on specialized subjects, documents of historical value, and out-of-print studies are now being published under the auspices of the American Council on Public Affairs through the microfilm medium.

Microfilm Service, a new affiliate of the Council, has been established for the express purpose of reproducing and distributing microfilm versions of investigations in the physical and social science fields.

Designed primarily for scholars, the facilities of Microfilm Service are devoted chiefly to their needs and requirements in making possible the availability and dissemination of a wealth of material which has hitherto remained unpublished or difficult to obtain.

Copies of microfilm studies published by Microfilm Service are made available to leading academic libraries, research institutions, and scholars in general.

Further information may be obtained from Microfilm Service, 2153 Florida Ave., N. W., Washington 8, D. C.

Berea College. Professor Merton Oyler, chairman of the sociology department, announces a recreation major for the training of rural recreation workers, with particular reference to the southern Appalachian area. Frank Smith will return to residence the second semester of 1947-48 to teach the recreation courses after devoting a year to the Montana Study, University of Montana.

In the rural sociology course emphasis is placed on the compiling of community and county data by students in the "Berea territory," the southern Appalachian region.

Centre D'Etudes Sociologiques. Georges Gurovitch, speaking for the Board of Directors, announces that the Centre D'etudes Sociologiques moved in February, 1947 from 2 rue Montpensier to 82 Boulevard Arago, Paris XIII.

The program of the Centre for the current year has included 18 regular lecture courses and a series of lectures by foreign scholars, including:

1. "The Contemporary American Sociology," by Richard Williams, formerly professor at Buffalo University.
2. "The Methods of the Roumanian Sociological School for Studying Social Reality," by D. Gusti, Professor at the University of Bucharest.
3. "Social Symbiosis and Social Hierarchy," by Eugene Dupreel, Professor at the University of Bruxelles.
4. "Social Anthropology in England and America," by A. R. Radcliffe Brown, Professor Emeritus at Oxford University.
5. A topic to be announced by Dr. J. L. Moreno, Director of the Sociometric Institute, New York.

Drew Theological Seminary. Professor Ralph Felton announces several rural church research bulletins and others in preparation, copies of which are available at cost. Interested persons may contact Professor Felton at Drew University, Madison, New Jersey.

Harvard University. Carle C. Zimmerman's *Family and Civilization* appeared both in trade and text editions from the press of Harper & Brothers this August. The work takes up the story of the family of Western civilization as a unified cultural system and shows its progressive changes with the rise and decay of Greek and Roman civilizations. Then it deals with similar changes with the rise and flowering of modern western culture and points out the present imminent problem of family conservation.

University of Kentucky. Dr. Irving A. Spaulding, assistant professor of sociology

in the New Jersey College for Women, was a member of the summer research staff in rural sociology.

Five members of the sociology and rural sociology staffs participated in the University of Kentucky's first Institute on Family Life held July 7-9. Dr. Irwin T. Sanders was chairman of the committee that planned the Institute.

Dr. Harold F. Kaufman participated as a staff member at the Scarritt College Rural Center, Crossville, Tennesse, April 1-5; the Town and Country Pastors' School, Pennsylvania State College, June 16-21, State College, Pennsylvania; and, the Pastors' Short Course, Bible College, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa, July 7-16.

Louisiana State University. Dr. T. Lynn Smith has resigned as head of the Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology in order to become head of the Department of Sociology and Director of the Institute of Brazilian Studies at Vanderbilt University. He has been succeeded as head of the two departments at Louisiana State University by Dr. Homer L. Hitt.

University of Minnesota. Professor Lowry Nelson taught the first term of the summer session at Utah State Agricultural College and attended the Second Session of the Permanent Agricultural Committee of the International Labor Organization at Geneva, Switzerland, during the week of August 4. Following the meeting of the committee he visited the American-occupied zone of Germany, as well as Denmark and Great Britain.

University of Mississippi. The Department of Sociology will offer the master's degree in rural sociology with specialization in population and community organization. Fellowships are available through the Dean of the Graduate School.

John N. Burrus returned to teach both terms of the 1947 summer session after two years of study at the University of Minnesota. Mr. Burrus handled all sociology at the University for two years during the war.

Julien R. Tatum was on the staff of the Arkansas Experiment Station for the summer of 1947 completing a study of a rural medical cooperative.

Vernon Davies has just completed a study of housing conditions in Mississippi. It will be published by the Bureau of Public Administration of the University.

Vernon Davies and Morton King have cooperated in a study of the population of the state penal farm for the Mississippi Association on Crime and Delinquency. They have also acted as consultants to and compiled demographic data for the State Commission on Hospital Care. The Mississippi building plan was the first to be submitted and receive the approval of the U. S. Surgeon General.

Morton King was elected secretary-treasurer of the Southern Sociological Society at its April meeting.

North Carolina State College. Eugene A. Wilkening, instructor, is on leave until January 1 for the purpose of completing his graduate studies in the University of Chicago.

Selz C. Mayo, associate professor, is directing a field survey of 1,000 rural North Carolina families. Data on health, medical care, population changes, and housing are being collected. This is the first time that the Department of Rural Sociology has attempted to use scientific sampling methods in a state-wide survey of rural households.

The sample is based on stratification by type of farming, home ownership, proportion of rural-farm homes, and local residence on roads. Randomization has been used within strata groups. The survey will be completed by October 1.

C. Horace Hamilton, Head of the Department, is serving as special consultant to the Research Grants Division, National Institute of Health, and the Division of Hospital Facilities of the United States Public Health Service.

More than 300 undergraduate students took one or more courses in rural sociology at State College during the past year. Advanced courses are offered on rural popu-

lation, standards of living, community organization, rural leadership, farmers' movements, social aspects of land tenure, statistical analysis of social data, rural social psychology, social security for rural people, rural-social pathology, agricultural extension and education, and the theory and development of rural sociology. Graduate assistants in the department are Frank A. Santopolo, Horace D. Rawls, Nelson W. Stephenson, and Robert McD. Bobbitt.

Margaret McIver Cole, recently promoted to research instructor, is preparing a manuscript on the social and economic basis for medical care planning.

A project to restudy the locality groups of Wake County, North Carolina has just been approved. The first study of Wake County locality groups was made in 1922-23 by Carl C. Taylor and Carle C. Zimmerman. The personnel for this study are: Supervisor, C. Horace Hamilton; Leader, Selz C. Mayo; Assistant Leader, Horace D. Rawls.

Oregon State College. Professor Robert H. Dann returned from his sabbatical leave in August after a year in New Zealand and Australia as representative of the British Society of Friends and the American Society of Friends.

Dr. Oscar F. Hoffman, M. A., University of Wisconsin, and Ph.D., University of North Carolina has joined our staff following a period of service at Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Illinois.

Pennsylvania State College. Dr. Macklin E. John, rural sociologist, has been made head of the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, formerly known as the Department of Agricultural Economics.

A cooperative arrangement has been worked out by the Department of Sociology in the School of the Liberal Arts and the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology in the School of Agriculture. Several members of the staff will carry joint appointments. The graduate work of the two groups will be dovetailed into one broad program.

In the Department of Sociology, Dr. Jessie Bernard has been appointed assistant professor of sociology to teach courses on the family. Dr. L. L. Bernard has been appointed lecturer in sociology. Dr. Robert E. Clark of the University of Chicago, who has been appointed assistant professor of sociology, will teach courses in criminology.

Dr. Samuel W. Blizzard of Wooster College is joining the staff as assistant professor of sociology and rural sociology with a joint appointment in the Department of Sociology and the Experiment Station.

Purdue University. Professor O. F. Hall who has taught rural sociology here for more than thirty years has been granted a year's leave of absence during which time he will be visiting professor at Transylvania College, Lexington, Kentucky. For four years Professor Hall was secretary of the American Country Life Association and assisted in holding it together during the war years.

Dr. J. E. Losey formerly with the U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics is now teaching rural sociology at Purdue.

Utah State Agricultural College. As a feature of the centennial year celebration in Utah, a two-day symposium was held at the summer-session of Utah State Agricultural College on Utah's population and community problems. Participating in the discussion were the following: Kimball Young, Northwestern University; Lowry Nelson, University of Minnesota; Arthur L. Beeley and Rex Skidmore, University of Utah; Harold T. Christensen and Reed Bradford, Brigham Young University; William L. Wanlass, Joseph A. Geddes, Laurence Bee, Joseph N. Symons, H. Welling Roskelley and Laval S. Morris, Utah State Agricultural College.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute. Dr. J. H. Kolb of the University of Wisconsin was here for four days, July 14-18, for the Rural Ministers Summer School directed by Professor B. L. Hummel, and sponsored by

the Agricultural Extension Service and the Virginia Council of Churches. His part on the program was a series of lectures on churches in contemporary rural society considered in terms of how they fit in with rural group arrangements, the values they espouse, how they relate themselves to other local institutions and the policies and practices they employ for community welfare.

Professor Hummel was on the program July 16 for a discussion of conditions in China as seen during his recent year there for a study of the Chinese Extension Service and the preparation of a report with recommendations for its future.

Dr. Carl C. Taylor of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, U. S. Department of Agriculture, participated in the Institute of Rural Affairs held at the college, July 29-31.

Dr. Leland B. Tate, who has served as secretary-treasurer of the Rural Sociological Society of America for the last three years, has been elected president of the Virginia Social Science Association composed of sociologists, economists, political scientists and historians. He also has been appointed to the newly created Advisory Committee for Emory and Henry College and chosen chairman of its sub-committee on regional resources and interests. During spare hours of the past year he worked with sponsors of the Lookout Mountain Southern Health Conference of 1946 in making the proceedings into a report on "The South's Health: A Picture with Promise," which has been transmitted to the Agricultural Committee of the House of Representatives, Congress of the United States for publication as a congressional document in a series of reports on social and economic conditions of the South.

DEATH TAKES DR. C. J. GALPIN PIONEER RURAL SOCIOLOGIST

Dr. Charles J. Galpin, 83, who died Sunday, June 1, 1947, at his home in Falls Church, Va., was an internationally known pioneer in the field of rural sociology. He retired from the Department of Agriculture in 1934 after 15 years in charge of rural life studies in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and a quarter century of leadership in the field of rural sociology.

At the University of Wisconsin in 1911 he inaugurated studies of communities which showed business groups the interdependence of farms and business men, such as "The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community," published in 1915 by the Wisconsin Experiment Station. He was called to Washington in 1919 to head up the study of farm population and rural life in the Department of Agriculture. From this position, through cooperative projects, Dr. Galpin had wide connection with research work in the various states. He served on advisory councils with the leading national organizations of social research and was active in the American Country Life Association, American Sociological Society, and other organizations.

Among the projects he initiated and directed were the preparation of annual estimates of farm population movements, a survey which now shows the changes to and from farms; studies of community organizations such as cooperative social groups, rural hospitals, and libraries; community planning, rural factory industries; and the subsistence type of home in the country.

In addition to work in this country, Dr. Galpin made studies of rural life conditions in numerous European countries. In recognition of his services to the country life movement of other countries, he was awarded a special agricultural decoration of the first class by the King of Belgium in 1927. He was the United States delegate to the General Assembly of the International Institute at Rome in 1926.

Dr. Galpin was educated at Colgate University, Clark University, Harvard, and the University of Wisconsin. He received the degree of Litt.D. from Colgate University in 1919. He was a member of the American Sociological Association, Delta Kappa Epsilon, vice-president of the American Country Life Association; associate

member of the International Institute of Sociology; corresponding member of the Czechoslovakia Academy of Agriculture, 1926. He was author of several books and a large number of articles on rural sociology.

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